



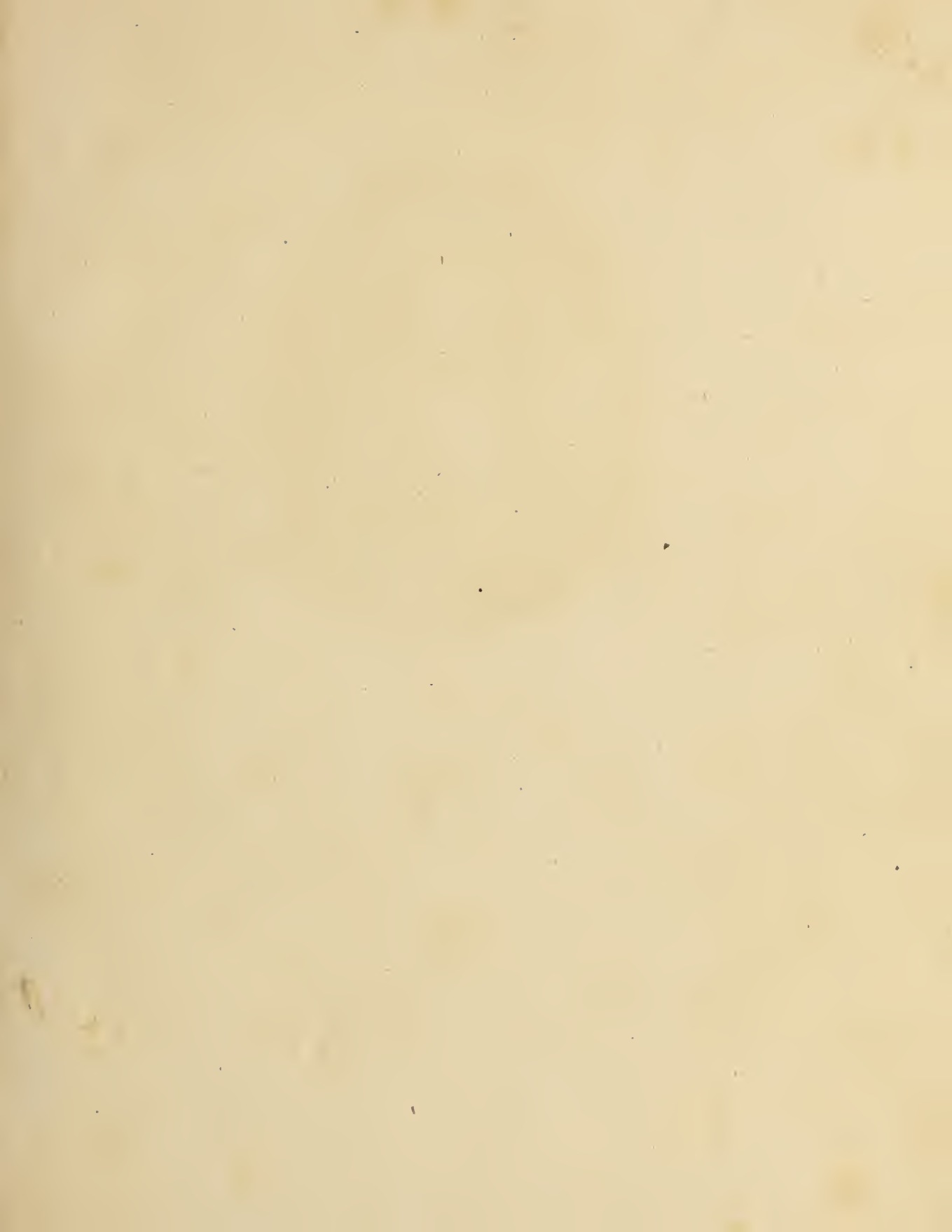
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2nd ed. vol.
officially published since Apr. 10, 1913

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William Dickinson, Esq.

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Printed by W. L. R. & Co. in the Strand.

ANTIQUITIES
HISTORICAL,
ARCHITECTURAL, CHOROGRAPHICAL,
AND
ITINERARY,
IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE AND THE ADJACENT COUNTIES;

COMPRISING

*The Histories of SOUTHWELL (the Ad Pontem) and of NEWARK
(the Sidnacester, of the Romans)*

INTERSPERSED WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES,
AND PROFUSELY EMBELLISHED WITH ENGRAVINGS,
IN FOUR PARTS.

BY WILLIAM DICKINSON, Esq.

Part I.

—(O)—

VOL. I.

NEWARK:

PRINTED BY HOLT AND HAGE,
FOR CADELL AND DAVIES, STRAND, LONDON.

1801.



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TO
THE PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS
OF
THE HONORABLE SOCIETY OF
ANTIQUARIES.

GENTLEMEN,

Habits of intimacy, in early life, with a most respectable member of your Society, gave the first encouragement to the Author of the following pages to prosecute those studies, which your institution has been so eminently, and so honorably, distinguished, by protecting and promoting. Whatever efforts the instigation of partial friends, operating on the ardor of his own mind, may have heretofore suggested, toward making public the result of his inquiries, he considers this as the first, which, in any degree, entitled him to mention his Instructor. If the respectable Person, here*

* The late Charles Mellish, Esq.

alluded to, did not actually plant the tree, he may, at least, be said to have trained the shoot: to him therefore, had he been living, the Author would have looked with confidence, for the protection of this, its first-fruit. Deprived of that assistance by the event, which you must deplore, in common with himself, he trusts he does not exceed the bounds of decorum, when he solicits, from the body at large, that patronage, which he has been so unfortunately deprived of by the decease of an individual member.

I have the honor to be

Gentlemen,

with the greatest respect,

your obedient humble servant,

W. DICKINSON.

Muskham Grange,

April 20, 1801.

PREFACE.

—(O)—

NO inconsiderable portion of this treatise was published in the year 1787, under the title of a “History of the Antiquities of Southwell.” If it did not prove a work of that extreme correctness which the grandeur of the subject seemed to promise, some allowances might not unreasonably be expected from the most fastidious critick, when he was informed that the author was engaged in the pursuit of a laborious profession; that his time of life was scarcely favorable to antiquarian pursuits, being under thirty years of age; and that the book itself was begun, and published, in compliance with the impatient zeal of some literary friends, especially one,* now no more, within a period not much exceeding eighteen months. These circumstances, as well as the motives, which led to the publication, were candidly stated at the time; and he had no reason to be dissatisfied with the result. When the variety of authorities necessary to be consulted; the quantity of very ancient manuscripts to be decyphered, and copied; and the number of buildings to be viewed, and compared; are in the

*THE late learned Dr. Ralph Heathcote

recollection of the reader (even leaving out of his consideration the traditionary history to be collected, and the observations, necessary for explanation, to be inserted) the guilt of presumption may, perhaps, not have been imputable to a writer, who might, even under the circumstances here stated, flatter himself with some degree of credit for accuracy, accompanied, as it has been observed the work was, with such unusual expedition. That I did not exceed the bounds of reasonable confidence, when I formed this hope, two authorities weigh powerfully with me in concluding, viz. the professed opinions of habitual criticks, and the evidence of my own observation; the latter now matured by some years of reflection, by the examination of new testimony, and by research somewhat voluminous, on the subject. When the work, here mentioned, made its appearance, it was thought of sufficient moment to attract the attention of all the criticks by profession, in the reviews of the time. From a consultation of such faithful mirrors, what author, but must depart somewhat dissatisfied with himself. Among innumerable little spots and blemishes, however, no hideous deformity, "no unsightly wen" was displayed. In the exultation natural to youth, and to authorship, on such a discovery, I exclaimed with the poet,

"Atqui si vitis mediocribus, ac mea paucis

"Mendosa est Natura, alioqui recta, velut si

"Egregio inspersos reprëndas corpore nevus."

and returned to my labor, inspired with new confidence, and invigorated with fresh ambition. Their respective judgments, indeed, were tempered, as might be expected, with different degrees of mercy, but I am bound to declare with uniform and invariable candor. My

acknowledgments are due for their liberality, and it is my earnest wish to exhibit a proof, that I have profited from their observations, by endeavoring, in *this* edition, to correct the faults, they pointed out in the *former* one. By this, however, let me not be understood to mean, that I have, either manifested an undeviating acquiescence in their judgment, or have uniformly adopted their opinions. In truth, they often differed from each other; and in those instances, at least, it was not an unreasonable liberty to differ from them all. Having perused their observations with attention, where they convicted me of error, I manifested my gratitude by immediate correction: where they suggested a doubt, I examined their opinions with caution, I hope with candor; and I certainly did not determine without great deliberation; neither scornfully rejecting what opposed my own notions, however favorite; nor adopting with servility what militated against my coolest judgment. The present work, however, being on a larger scale, involving much new inquiry, and recent discovery, it is necessary for me to observe something respecting the object of it, and the plan I have prescribed to myself in the prosecution of the investigation.

It has long been considered as a matter of not only pleasant and curious, but even of useful inquiry, to determine the roads, and stations, of the Romans, while they held the dominion of this island. Many of them have been ascertained with indisputable precision; some have been conjectured, subject to much doubt and controversy; and many more remain still entirely undiscovered, to excite the diligence of the antiquary. Southwell *certainly*, Newark with *great probability*, presents

a most exuberant field for examination. This field it has been my amusement to explore with some labor and attention, and to cultivate with the laudable prospect of reaping a crop not altogether unworthy the attention of the learned. Should it appear that several roads of considerable consequence, and several stations situated on, or near them, belonging to the Romans, respecting which history has been silent, have been ascertained; that the lines, and limits, of many more, which were heretofore dubious, have been fixed; and that, on the whole, such a plain itinerary has been laid down, as will materially assist future explorers, not only of Roman, but of Saxon, and Norman, antiquities, in this part of the country, one of my principal purposes will have been accomplished. It was next to impossible for any one, investigating the origin, and fortune, of the town of Southwell, not to contemplate, with a considerable degree of admiration, its most extraordinary and stupendous church: to me it was by no means even a subordinate object. The distinguishing characteristics of Roman, Saxon, Danish, Norman, and Gothic architecture, have long been very favorite objects of solicitous inquiry. This stately, though unequal, pile presents almost every of these different species, in perfect condition, discriminated with most obvious precision, and bearing ample testimony to each gradual, and minute successive improvement in architectural science; from the rude and clumsy pier of Harold's, or of Canute's days, to the light, fantastic, Gothic, shaft used in the reigns of the latter Henries. With such an agglomeration, as it were, of specimens always before me, I formed the arduous attempt of extracting from them a sort of

architectural index, or nomenclature of columns, arches, and ornaments; by means of which the origin of every ancient building might, almost on a first view, be dated. How far these endeavors have been successful, will be determined by the perusal of the following pages. Be the decision, however, what it may, this observation naturally leads to the introduction of a circumstance, which calls for explanation. It became necessary, in the progress of this inquiry, to examine many monuments of antiquity, for the purpose of comparison; and to scrutinize the opinions of many writers on architecture, in order to estimate the value of my own. On a subject, which has been so often handled, and not unfrequently with great ability, it must appear extraordinary, that where I expected to find nothing but uniformity, even to monotony, I was continually surprised with inconsistencies, and repeatedly puzzled with contradictions. Among all the authorities I consulted I scarcely found two, which did not differ each from the other. The degrees of difference too were not less various, than the parts of the general subject on which they disagreed, or their modes of exemplifying their dissensions. To reconcile them was impossible; to extract a system from their variations appeared impracticable. To refer to books, many of them out of print; few of them to be purchased; and even in the well-stocked libraries of the learned, not commonly to be found; I say, to refer merely to such books in the course of an examination into a subject of so much controversy, would have been to offer the brilliant, but empty exhibition of, what used to be called, a magic lanthorn; in which the whole system of creation, "even the great globe itself," may be laid open to

dazzle the eyes of gazing spectators, but where they will in vain endeavor to grasp a single material, of which the splendid representation appears to be composed. It was my object to reconcile the differences of all the best writers on ancient architecture, where such differences were rather in modes and expressions, than in essential qualities. Where they were irreconcilable, to adopt what appeared the better opinion, and to reject the worse; and out of the whole to extract, if possible, with the aid of occasional observations, such a system, as should assist the architect, the antiquary, and the historian; should ascertain the progress of science, and the ravages of time. To accomplish this, a course has been pursued, which to some may seem objectionable, but which appeared to me the only one susceptible of that perspicuity, and that minute exactness, which the peculiarity of the examination demanded. I have brought into review the most prominent features of almost every modern treatise on the subject of ancient architecture. From some I have extracted liberally, from others sparingly; according to my opinion of their respective merits, in proportion to their immediate application to the subject under investigation, and to the celebrity of their works. If to this mode of proceeding it be objected, that I have taken advantage of the labors of others, let the acknowledgment of the theft be accepted as its apology; and let it be remembered that in this part of my work, I claim no credit but from selection; and the scanty praise of useful selection will surely not be denied, if it be only because it has occupied much of my own time, and proportionably saved that of my readers.

THUS much I thought it necessary to say, by way of anticipation to the objections of those cursory criticks, who condemn without consideration, and pass sentence without hearing what can be pleaded in mitigation of punishment. Further than this to conjecture cavils, or to pre-suppose animadversions, on a work of this kind, would probably be as unprofitable to its author, as uninformative to the reader. While a variety of pursuits continue to stimulate the various inclinations and abilities of men, difference of opinion must inevitably await the public introduction of every work. Even in the few instances where general assent may have been given to the merit of the execution, the importance of the subject has often produced a controversy, or the arrangement of the matter has occasioned a critique. The labors of no description of persons have been more severely handled than those of antiquaries; none, perhaps, with less reason. Where their object is trifling, it is, at least, innocent: where it is important, it is among the most interesting of human pursuits; inasmuch as it generally involves, in some view or other, the history of man. It is said by a celebrated author* that "Antiquarianism is the younger Sister of History, less sedate and more fanciful, and apt to become enamoured of the face of time by looking so frequently upon it. "Let not this," proceeds he, "be the conduct of her sober disciples. "Let not the sensible antiquarian disgrace himself and his profession by admiring greatly what is merely ancient, and by applauding fondly what is only Roman. The pencil of age may be justly allowed to throw a shade of respectableness, and to diffuse even an

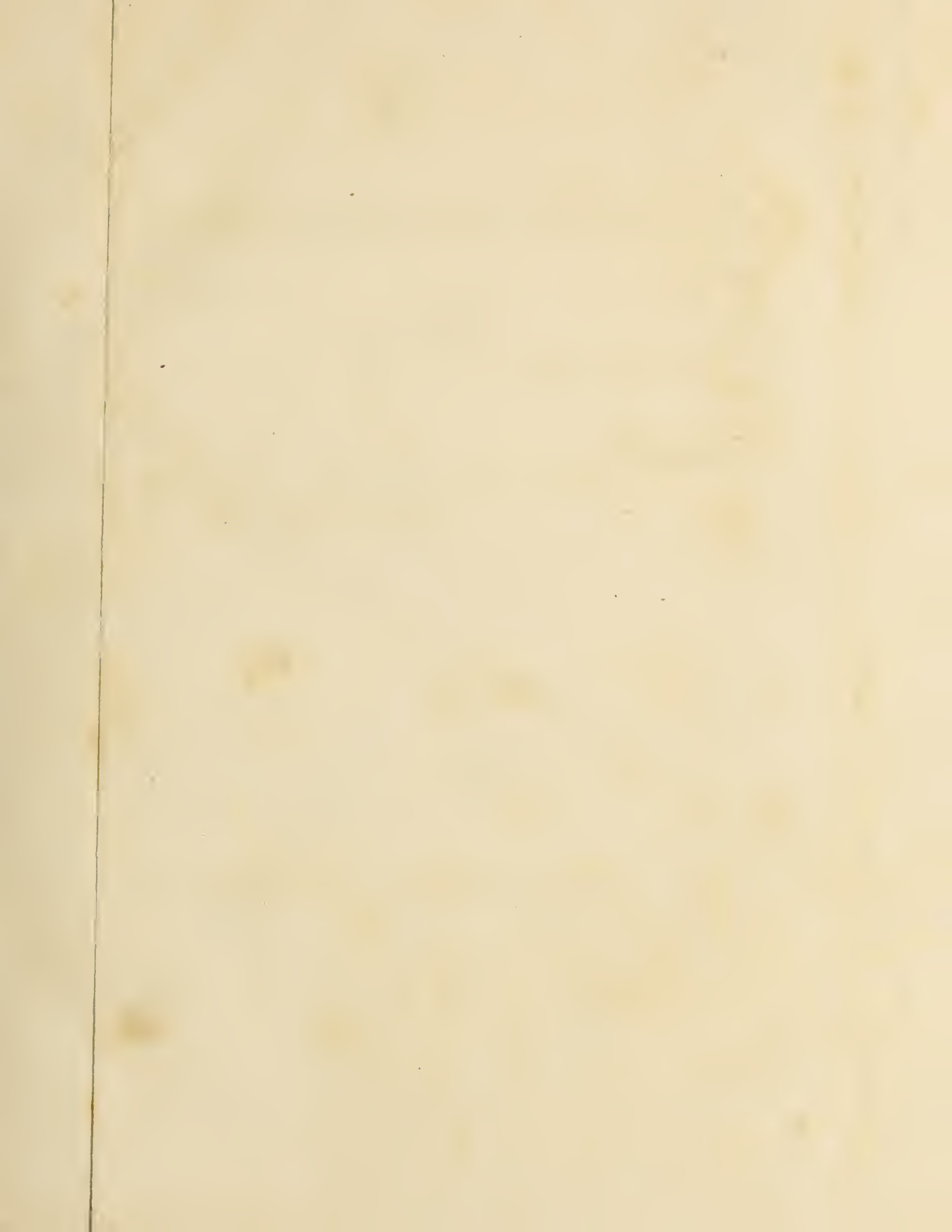
* Whitaker's History of Manchester.

“air of venerableness, over the productions of every ancient art. “And we may appeal indeed to the native feelings of every sensible “beholder for the truth of the observation. But this is all that can “be allowed to the mere influence of time. And the antiquarian that “once oversteps this reasonable limit, sacrifices the dignity of senti- “ment to the dreams of antiquarianism, and gives up the realities of “history for the fables of imagination.” Though all should assent to the correctness of this observation, scarce two would be found, who would not differ about the limit, where the reality of history ceased, and the dreams of antiquarianism began; scarce two, who would agree respecting the place where this younger Sister of History ceased to be an humble assistant, and commenced a jealous rival; proud of her own intrinsic qualifications, and emulous of distinct and separate admiration. The writer of a local history is, of necessity, particularly solicitous that this should be attended to. The truly learned compose but a very small portion of society; the inquisitive a very large one: for aught I know, they have equal pretensions to be gratified, though their applause may not be equally valuable. In exploring the history of a whole people, authentic information, and decisive discovery, are generally the reward of diligent inquiry, and elaborate investigation. In the history of a little district, insignificant in size, however proud in origin, noble in descent, illustrious in reputation, and fruitful of events, the case is widely different. Scanty records, obscure accounts, contradictory traditions, and absurd opinions, generally compose the mass of materials, from which an author is to fabricate and digest such a history. If he lay mere authorities before the public (as Thoroton,

and some other local historians have done) he is pronounced dry, tedious, and unentertaining: if he aim at observation, or hazard conjecture in aid of his authorities, they are the dreams of an antiquary: if he deliver the result of his inquiries without reference to authorities, be they ever so plausible, ever so unlike dreams, they are condemned by every man who prefers fact to argument, and authority to the speculations of authors. Such are the difficulties; such too often the rewards of overcoming them. There appear to me two leading objects in a local history. It should certainly be ancillary to the general history of the country; in which, perhaps, the place treated of is a very inconsiderable part. At the same time it is surely no degradation of the author's dignity to insert matters of merely local importance: they afford gratification to those who are interested in even the most trifling occurrences of their *natale solum*. If his information be entirely the result of his own industry, this sort of attention to the laudable attachments of some of his readers is a compliment expected; if it arise from communication and instruction, it will then become an obligation due to those, from whom he received assistance. "Topographical works," says a learned writer, "though performed with only moderate ability, have their use, as combining utility with amusement; for by preserving the records of customs and manners, obsolete and forgotten, they tend, at the same time to the illustration of history, and the gratification of individual curiosity." If the author of such a work register only names and dates, let them be received, at least without disdain; since they may, at some distant period, ascertain the fluctuations of property, and the revolutions of

fortune in families. "The short, but simple, annals of the poor," may become, some time or other, the "golden records of the rich." If he relate but the occurrences of the day, they may point out to future ages, the decay of population, the diminution of commerce, the variation of manners, or the dilapidations of time: if he dare to conjecture, to argue, or to analyse, let his courage be applauded, even though his dulness be condemned.

THROUGH the whole œconomy of nature the same rule ever does, and ever must, obtain. The efforts of imbecility will always precede the exertions of maturity: conjecture is the first step toward certainty, and speculation the infancy of real knowlege.



EXPLANATORY

OBSERVATIONS ON THE MAP.

1. **DONCASTER.** In the Itinerary of Antonine, Doncaster appears under the denomination of Danum. It seems to have been a station of great magnitude and importance, and to have been surrounded by an unusual number of boroughs, or inferior forts. In many instances the situations of these point out their utility and application; as where they were constructed near roads for the accommodation of marching troops, or near rivers for the protection of navigation. In the instance of Danum their frequency is not to be entirely accounted for on either of these suppositions. The Roman government was in *a great degree* a military one, even at home; but in all their dependencies, of which Britain was one, it was *entirely* of that description; and in this characteristic feature of their government we must look for the solution of our present difficulty. We learn from the historical remains of their British expeditions, that the prefect of the Crispinian horse was stationed at Danum with a considerable force. It seems, therefore, to have been a large, permanent, and important station; where, of course, a great many noble Romans would be continually on duty. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that wherever this was the case, there of course would be, and we know there were, numerous villas, and places of retirement; which were, in conformity with the genius of their government, and indeed from the necessity of being always prepared against the revolts of the refractory brigantes, constructed for defence, and built in the nature of forts. Thus may we account for some of the numerous instances of Roman stations, of various extent and importance, in the immediate vicinity of Danum, under the following appellations of Conis-borough, Thri-borough, Greas-borough, Mex-borough, Barn-borough, Sprot-borough, Adwick in the Street, Brough, and others.

2. **BROUGH.** The etymology of this name, which occurs so frequently in every part of England, has been already explained; and of that explanation the continued succession of broughs, boroughs, and burghs, (all signifying the same thing) on the course of the river Trent, which was (as will be more particularly noticed in the history of Newark, in a subsequent part of this work) a navigation of the first importance to the Romans, affords no inconsiderable confirmation. The particular post

under consideration seems to have been the first halting place, after crossing the Humber, on the passage to the northern seaports of Flam-borough, Scar-borough, and others; to which, it may not be irrelevant to observe, the road must have passed through, or near to, Burton Raks, Bishop's Burton, Cherry Burton, Scor-borough, Barrow Hill, Foss-ton, Burton Agnes, and North Burton. For the etymologies of these places vid. Post. Art. 3.

3. BURTON PIDSEY, is one of those places which is introduced into this map without any immediate reference to the subject of chorographical inquiry; but as tending obliquely and analogically to an illustration of the data on which it proceeds. Burton there can be no doubt is a contraction of Borough town, as Barton is of Barrow town. It has been observed, that, according to the provincial dialect of the district where any remains of a Roman camp were taken possession of by their Saxon successors, castrum was translated into, or rather imitated by, caster, cester, or chester. So burgh, which it has been remarked was the Saxon imitation of burgus, was, by a similar caprice, changed into brough, amplified into borough, or contracted into burg and bury. If etymological and analogical reasoning failed for the confirmation of these conjectures, numerous recent discoveries of Roman roads, and other antiquities, demonstrating, beyond controversy, an invariable system, on which the Romans proceeded in forming communications, and fixing stations, would establish the position. It is not unworthy of observation too, that, in the immediate vicinity of the place under consideration, is another Burton, distinguished by the additional appellation of Constable, and that both are near to Ald-borough and Rain-borough, two of the many boroughs to be found all the way on the banks of the German Ocean from Harwich to Tinemouth.

4 BAWTRY. The remains of an ancient camp, after the Roman fashion, point out this station. Vid. Chapman's map of Nottinghamshire.

5. AUK-BOROUGH; or, as it is more commonly called, Hawksbury, was the second fortified post on the river Trent from the Humber; and was obviously placed here by the Romans for the protection of their traffick, and the necessary removal of corn from one to another of their principal stations, and permanent camps.

6. BARTON. After the observations contained under Art. 3, it is unnecessary to add any more on this place; but, as if its particular situation were intended to do away all doubts respecting the derivation of its name, being no other than the *town in the vicinity of a barrow*, we come, under the next figure of reference, to the barrow itself.

7. BARROW. As the name of this place is synonymous with tumulus or sepulchre, any observation on it would be superfluous.

8. FILZ-BOROUGH. The name of this place appears with some little variation in different maps; but its termination decides its origin, and its situation on the banks of the river Trent points out its use.

9. BROUGH-TON. Lies in the direct road between Lindum and the Humber.

10. GAINS-BOROUGH. Vessels of great burthen can come no higher up the river Trent than this station, for which reason it became the anchoring place of the Danes when they invaded Britain. From its particular situation on this account it was probably one of the largest fortifications on the river Trent, between the Humber and Newark. Camden places the Sidnacester of the Romans here, Stukely at Newark. Vid. History of Newark, Post. Vol. 2.

11. BLY-BOROUGH. There probably was a road, from a station of such considerable consequence as Gainsborough, to join the high street from Lindum to the Humber. If this conjecture be not erroneous altogether, such a road would pass through Blyborough.

12. CLARE-BOROUGH. Where the situations of the forts built for the protection of navigation were low, damp, or inconvenient, the Romans probably had no more troops stationed than were absolutely necessary. In all such, instances, however, they took care to have a large and permanent encampment in the neighbourhood, from which supplies of provisions and men could be procured on emergencies. Such seems to have been the purpose of Clareborough, which we may reasonably conjecture, from its prænomèn *Clare*, was of considerable magnitude, especially when contrasted with its neighbouring station of Little-borough, very speedily to be noticed.

13. BURTON WEST. Vid. Ant. Art. 3.

14. BURTON EAST. Ibid.

15. LITTLE-BOROUGH. Why a station, the importance of which we may collect, from its appellation, to have been inferior, should have outlived the wreck of time, and be recognized under the Roman name of Agelocum, while those of greater consequence in its vicinity are scarcely discoverable at all, it may be difficult to reconcile to the usual course of events: such however seems to have been the uncontroverted opinion of most antiquaries from the time of Stukely to the Editor of the last edition of Camden's Britannia.

16. A BATH of Roman construction, with other remains. Vid. Rooke's Letter, Archæ. Vol. 9.

17. THE great Roman camp in Pleasley Park. Co. of Derby, too perfect, and too well known, to stand in need of a description here.

18. PART of a Roman exploratory camp near Mansfield Woodhouse, which from its great elevation commands a view of all the neighbouring camps, stations, and roads; especially of the great camp in Pleasley Park. Vid. Rooke's Letter before cited.

19. FLED-BOROUGH. Named in many maps and other topographical descriptions, Flatborough. Under the latter appellation the scites of other Roman forts on the beds of rivers have been perpetuated in different parts of the kingdom. Avon has its Flatborough, as well as Trent, and similarly situated. Its etymology is too obvious to need a comment, and its use has been pointed out before.

20. STREET-TOWN, commonly named Stretton. We meet with another place of this denomination on the Roman road from Stamford to Ancaster, as this is from Lincoln (Lindum) to Littleborough (Agelocum.) After the observations that have been already made on the word street, it would be superfluous to make an additional remark here.

21. BURTON presents another instance of the extraordinary uniformity, with which the Roman names have been corrupted, imitated, or abbreviated. If a direct line be drawn from Lincoln to the ancient passage over the Humber it would go through this place, Blyborough, and Filtborough, and would not deviate much from Aukborough; a circumstance which would incline one to suppose there might have been a mere common unpaved road in that direction. The vicinity of the great paved road, called the high Street, from London to the Humber, passing through Lincoln, seems, in some degree however, to militate against such a conjecture.

22. LINCOLN. The Lindum of Antonine's Itinerary. This seems to have been the focus where all armies of the Romans, east of Trent might be concentrated, as occasion served. Ad Pontem answered the same purpose west of Trent. Communications with these two stations ran in almost all directions; some paved and broad for the convenient march of large armies, which were afterwards called by the Saxons, *Streets*, and so continue to be in many parts of England to this day. Such is the eastern road from London across the Humber, to the northern boroughs on the coast, Ald-borough, Flam-borough, Scar-borough, Guis-borough, and others, by way of Caster-ton, Street-ton, An-caster, Lindum, and Brough. Roads of considerable passage which were not paved went under the denomination of fosses; a word not confined, as has erroneously been supposed, to the ditch that surrounded their encampments, but signifying more properly, and in a more enlarged sense, any hollow passage. The road from London to Lincoln, by way of Leicester, was of this sort, and presents a decisive proof of the distinction here contended for. Where it was not paved, as from Leicester to Lincoln, it was, and still continues to be, called *the Foss*. From Lincoln to York it was paved and took the name of *Fore Street*. To the inferior burghs, or little forts, there probably were no formed roads of any description, unless where they happened to be in the direct line between two permanent stations, or large encampments.

23. MANSFIELD. Scarce any doubt can be entertained of this having been a Roman station, as well from the great number of antiquities found in, and about it, as from its situation on several recently discovered Roman roads. Of its appellation, however, under the Roman government we are left in ignorance.

24. BURY-HILL, or, as it has of late been called (by corruption upon corruption) *Berzy Hill*. Vid. Ant. Art. 3.

25. TWO BARROWS, and part of a Roman work with a double ditch and vallum. Opened about seven years since. Vid. Rooke's View of Shirewood Forest.

26—27. REMAINS of two Roman streets or paved roads, one leading from Mansfield to Nottingham, the other from Mansfield to Southwell. Ibid.

28. HEXGRAVE PARK. Here are large remains of an encampment, which has been thought by some persons to be Roman. Its situation, in the vicinity of many others of undoubted Roman construction, seems to favor such a supposition; but as the reasons for attributing it to a different people are given very much at large in a subsequent chapter, it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it here.

29. COMBES. This is a smaller encampment, where many Roman weapons have been found, and is precisely in the spot where we should expect to find a halting place, and little exploratory camp. Vid. Post.

30. ANOTHER fragment of Roman pavement discovered by Mr. Rooke.

31. SMALL exploratory camps on a hill near to the village of Oxtou, contiguous to which are three barrows. It is very doubtful whether any of these are Roman, especially as they lie out of every direction the Romans are discovered to have travelled.

32. SOUTHWELL, the Ad Pontem of the Romans, the Tiovulfingecester of the Saxons. The principal Roman station west of Trent. It appears to have had at least four great roads of approach, viz. from Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, and Mansfield. Between it and to Leicester (Ratae) I presume the first large station from Ad Pontem would be in Barrow-field, Margidunum, by crossing the river Trent near to the modern town of Bridgeford, where it seems reasonable to conclude, from its present appellation, there was formerly a bridge. The road to another, Brough (Croecocolana) in the way to Lincoln, must have crossed the same river at Winthorpe, where, as has been noticed, the foundations of an immense bridge have been lately discovered. It is not improbable, if Newark were a Roman station of that importance which is attributed to it by Stukely and other writers, that there was a communication between it and Southwell by a third bridge, or even perhaps by two, as at present. Under the impression of these observations one cannot but remark a particular propriety in the appellation at Pontem, as applied to the situation of a place, which could only be approached from three principal roads by, at least, as many *bridges*.

33. MICKLE-BOROUGH HILL is at that distance from Southwell, and on such an eminence, as would point it out for an exploratory camp, if its name were less favorable to the conjecture.*

* In the Gentleman's Magazine for the month of December 1800, appeared an historical account of Winborne and its remarkable minster, many weeks after the former pages of this work had been printed; or some of the positions there laid down would have been controverted in an earlier part of it. Speaking of Badbury, the writer of the article here alluded to says "In Saxon times this place was called Baddan-byrig, the memorial of some chieftain there buried. So usual was this cause of altering an ancient name among the Saxons, that at last the general name of every town became "borough, because it so constantly ended in berig or bury, a word derived from *berighe*, to hide or cover." If this position were admitted in its fullest extent, what would become of our numerous hams, and tons, and bys, and bornes, and wells, and chesters, and woods, and fords, and streets, and bridges, with almost an hundred other terminations, many of which there is every reason for believing, were first Roman, and afterwards Saxon towns? But admitting that the writer did not mean to be understood in such a literal sense, and even that he only intended to say that those towns, whose names do terminate in bury and borough, were thus derived, still I see no reason for acceding to his position. If it were intended to discriminate between towns and camps, by laying it down as a general position that all the Roman towns were afterwards distinguished by the appellation of borough (derived as this author derives it) while camps and other stations were Saxonized by some other termination, (as for instance chester or cester) still I presume the inference would not be correct as Danum, Lindum, and Eboracum, afterwards changed into names of which borough makes no part, would sufficiently demonstrate. To what the numerous burgs and bergs in Germany may owe their derivation I pretend not to say, perhaps

34. WINTHORPE BRIDGE, discovered in 1792.

35. LANGFORD ENCAMPMENT. Very small, but still very visible. At the same distance from Brough (Crococolana) as Mickleborough Hill is from Southwell (Ad Pontem) and in a direct line drawn from one to the other of these extremities, we find these remains.

36. BROUGH, the Roman Crococolana. Vid. Stukely's Itin.

37. NEWARK, which though, speaking correctly, not situated immediately on the river Trent, was unquestionably the great depository of Roman power, and Roman riches, for the purpose of navigating that river. An investigation of its rise and progress makes no inconsiderable part of this work in a subsequent volume, to which the reader is referred. The Romans, like every other nation that has conquered, or has colonized, in forming camps, and erecting fortifications for the subjugation, or for the protection, of the country, no doubt considered maturely what situations were best adapted, *under all their circumstances*, for these purposes; but where no eminence particularly grateful recommended, or noxious morass enforced, a deviation from their general rule, it will be found that the Romans formed *permanent* stations as nearly ten of our English miles, distant each from the other, as the face of the country and the course of rivers would permit, and that between every two permanent and extensive stations they had two or three small, subordinate boroughs or forts. Most of the larger stations have been discovered by examination and inquiry, as it is presumed Ad Pontem and Sidnacester are in different parts of this work; have been recognized in their appellations, and continued importance, like Londinium, Lindum, and Eboracum; or have been preserved by tradition and history, like Verolamium, Ratae, and Agelocum. The small stations or boroughs have, as might reasonably be expected, met a different fate. The industry of antiquarian research has discovered the scites of some few of them, directed by their still Romanized names; but where no such indication remained, occasional inequalities of ground, and analogical reasoning founded on comparative distance, has only operated to form some plausible conjectures respecting the situations of these inferior stations. Such is the case with that part of the river Trent which is the immediate subject of examination. Although it is probable there have been at least three, if not more boroughs, between Newark and the union of this river with the Derwent, no vestige of any remains to our time, nor does the name of any village on its banks point out the probable situation of one, till we get near to the extremity of the county of Nottingham.

to some such origin as that assigned by the historian of Winborne; but the Roman word Burgus presents so literal and obvious an etymology, and the plain, direct, and simple interpretation of that word so immediately points to the particular species of station, or fortification, or defence (call it what you will) which almost all the *boroughs* present in this kingdom, that I cannot but prefer an etymology which is so natural, and which has met with general acquiescence, to one which though ingenious, seems to have little but its novelty to recommend it. From personal observation, as well as from consulting the opinions of the most celebrated topographical writers, I incline to conclude that the large and permanent Roman *encampments*, when afterwards occupied by their Saxon successors, were *generally* distinguished by the termination *cester* or *chester*; that their little exploratory and observatory *out-posts* of communication (like that which is the subject of the present article) were denominated boroughs or burgs; and that their towns wholly changed their names (uninfluenced by any such particular *appropriate* distinction) as accident, caprice, some intrinsic peculiarity, or extrinsic influence, dictated.

38. HALLOUGHTON, of which Hawton is a very common corruption, occurs in many parts of the kingdom, and means hallowed, or holy, town; and is reasonably supposed to point to the scite of a heathen place of worship among the Romans, and thus distinguished by their Saxon successors. This was probably the first little military station on the road from Southwell to Nottingham. Wherever we meet with a Hallowghton, a Barton, or a Burton, I will take upon myself at least to say that we shall discover it to have been a *good situation for such a purposc*, as well as for *that* to which it is supposed to have been appropriated.

39. EPERSTON PARK. Here are the remains of a Roman camp so little obliterated, as to leave no doubt of its having been a station of some importance. It is not irrelevant to observe that its modern appellation is Holy-hill.

40. WOOD-BOROUGH. I am not aware that any Roman remains have been discovered here, but its situation and *name* make it more than probable that it has been the next station on the road to Nottingham.

41. NOTTINGHAM. Of this having been a station of great importance no man doubts, but its appellation is not distinctly ascertained. The most general opinion is that it was Gausennæ. Vid. Cam. Brit. Edit. Gough.

42. THURGARTON. *Thor's Garth Town.* Thor was supposed by our Saxon ancestors to be the Deity who presided over the atmosphere, and had the same duties assigned to him as Jupiter had by the Romans. Garth was a Saxon term synonymous with circumvallation, and corrupted by us to this day into girt or girth. The great number of Roman coins found here, which will be noticed more at length hereafter, afford reason for believing this place to have been in the hands of that people. When the Saxons took possession of it, as it has been observed they did of the Roman entrenchments wherever they found them, it is more than probable they consecrated some of them, and this among the rest, to their imaginary Deity, or his priests. It lies in the direct road between Southwell and the passage over the Trent to a known Roman station.

43—44. EAST BRIDGEFORD, the Roman Margidunum. Here are many remains of Roman works, probably the camp of the army, and the villa of the general, beside a spring still distinguished by the name of *Old-work-spring*. These lie in a field called Barrow field. Vid. Horsley's Brit. Rom.

45. ATTEN-BOROUGH. The most southern fort on the river Trent, before the point of its union with the Derwent; and almost immediately on the opposite side of it

46. BARTON, or BARROW-TOWN.

47. VEROMETUM. Vid. Horsley's Brit. Rom.

48. LEICESTER, the *Ratæ* of the Romans. Ibid.

49. WEST-BOROUGH. Having travelled with the reader through all the northern and eastern, we now come to the southern and western division of this map. From the Roman coins, and pavements, mentioned by Camden, Stukely, and other writers to have been found in different parts of the country round Grantham, it is extremely evident that the Romans must have had considerable

stations in that neighbourhood; and consequently communications with all their others. A line drawn from Newark, which, whatever might be its name or magnitude, *certainly* was a station on the road between Ratae and Lindum, will pass through West-borough, Fos-ton, and Barrow-by; will go near to the town of Grantham, (generally admitted to have been a Roman station) and will join the great Roman road from Stamford to Ancaster, near to a little place still called Street-ton. After the observations that have been already made on the etymologies of towns of which borough, barrow, foss, and street, are component parts, it is unnecessary to add any thing in further confirmation of the present conjecture.

50. FOS-TON. A small village on a considerable eminence, commanding a large tract of country to the north and east, and well fitted for an exploratory camp.

51. BARROW-BY. The next village on the supposed road, whose name points out its origin and use.

52. GRANTHAM. This place seems to have been about equidistant from the ascertained road between Stamford and Ancaster, and the supposed one between Stamford and Newark; and probably served the purpose to both of them, which, it has been before observed, large stations frequently did to roads, and small halting places, in their vicinity. Vid. Ant. Art. 12.

53. HARLAXTON. A small village in the direction which we have been examining, and of undoubted Roman origin. In 1740 an urn was found here containing coins of Gallienus, Claudius, Gothicus, and other Roman emperors. Cam. Brit. Edit. Gough.

54. STRAWSON. Another of the same kind. Many Roman coins have been found here, and there are remains of a Roman fosse partly paved with blue stones laid on edge. Ibid.

55. STREET-TON. This appellation needs no further comment.

56. BRIDGE CASTER-TON. This has been amply observed upon.

57. STAMFORD. Supposed by Camden to be Gausennæ, or at least to have risen out of the ruins of it. Vid. Cam. Brit.

58. LITTLE CASTER-TON. Supposed to have been the villa, attached to the large station.

59. BURTON COGGLES. Another instance of the frequent repetition of the appellation of Borough-ton, in the immediate vicinity of a Roman road.

60. ANCASTER. The well known Roman station on the road to Lincoln, and in its immediate vicinity are still the very legible remains of an ancient encampment, called by the people of the country

61. CÆSARS CAMP, which was probably to Ancaster, what Little Casterton was to Bridge Casterton; and the little boroughs about Doncaster to the permanent station at that place. Vid. Ant. Art. 1. In ploughing the fields in this parish large square stones, evidently parts of very ancient buildings, are frequently found, and among them Roman coins both of brass and silver. A very fine Denarius of Otho, was discovered here some years ago, which was lately in the Cabinet of Lord Sandwich. Cam. Brit. Edit. Gough.

INTRODUCTION.

ARCHITECTURE.

CHAP. I.

“**HISTORY,**” we are instructed by no mean authority, “is philosophy teaching by example.” If this position be admitted, it will require little argument to prove, that he, who investigates the rise and progress of any of the arts, contributes his share to the elucidation of general history, and, in so doing, to the common interests of mankind.

FASHION and custom have, not unfrequently, annexed an interpretation to expressions, which their etymologies do not imply; and, as a principal purpose of the following sheets is to investigate, with antiquarian minuteness, the progress of civilization, through the medium of Architecture, and Chorography, as exhibited in a particular part of the kingdom, it may be expedient, in the first place,

to define the meaning of Antiquarianism, and, secondly, to shew the utility of its application to the projected enquiry.

“ANTIQUARIANISM,” writes a celebrated Author, “is the younger Sister of History.”* She might, perhaps with more propriety, have been denominated her *Mother*; since it is not less requisite that she should furnish the first *pabulum* of life, than that she should foster the infancy, and adorn the maturity, of the historic muse. It may be conceded, without prejudice to this position, that a creative imagination, and comprehensive talents, will not frequently submit to the dulness of detail, and to the fetters imposed by the minuteness of antiquarian research; and examples great and brilliant are not wanting to shew, with what superior lustre an historian may shine, without being himself an adept in that science, according to the common acceptation of its appellation: but that a profound acquaintance with antiquity, however acquired, is essential to the perfection of historiography, is a position that will scarcely be contested. It follows, therefore, that many of the materials for that purpose must be furnished mediately, or immediately, from an antiquarian source. The antiquary is the industrious miner, to whose humble, and recondite exertions, the earth yields the treasures of her bowels; and has an equal claim upon the gratitude of mankind with the more scientific coiner, whose less toilsome, but more splendid labor, stamps currency and estimation on the rude material. This metaphor will receive a ready application from at least two descriptions of readers; viz, from those who have waded, with Jornandes and Grotius, through the barbarous accounts of the middle ages; and from those who, with a less comprehensive view, have explored the early history of this Country, among the rubbish of superstitious

* Whitaker, in his *History of Manchester*.

endowments, and monastic records. The historians of Greece, and Rome, may be properly consulted for the transactions they report. The progress of science may be measured, without difficulty, in the annals to which it gave birth: but who is to record its declension, or its resuscitation, without the researches of antiquarianism? The mere translator can trace, and can adorn, the conquests of Alexander, or of Cæsar; but who can estimate, with accuracy, the ravages of Alaric, or of Odoacer? The general course of great events is all we know, from the downfall of Rome, till the revival of literature many centuries afterwards; and even when learning began again to be esteemed, so little method was observed in its exertions, that dates and names have, in few instances, been so faithfully recorded, as not to need the antiquary's assistance to ascertain, to reconcile, or to illustrate them.* Having thus laid the *foundation* of history, as the edifice advances, his aid becomes more necessary, and his contribution more conspicuous. What would be the column without its capital, or the dome without its cornice? Without the colonade and the portico, even without the statue and the vase, what would be the temple itself, but vast vacuity, and sombrous expanse? Such would be history, if it did not mark the progress of arts, the civilization of manners, the culture of philosophy, and the fluctuations of government. These, and such as these, are the *decorations* of the fabrick, which the antiquary must also supply; and, perhaps, for this purpose Architecture is, of all the sciences, that which is most to be relied upon. A coin may be a counterfeit, a legend may be a fiction, a painting may be spurious: but a mosque can be no counterfeit, a cathedral can be no fiction, a castle can be no deception. The progress of Architecture is the progress of nature, and of art, combined. It marks the temperature

* Even Camden and Dugdale tilled the field, from which our Humes and Smollets have reaped such an abundant harvest.

of climate, the produce of the earth, the state of philosophy, the influence of religion, the progress of arts, as well as of arms; in short, the revolutions of empires, and the history of the world itself.

ARCHITECTURE, considered simply as the art of constructing habitations, is, in all probability, nearly coeval with the globe itself; for, however temperate the climate might be, in which our first parents were designed by Providence to live, no country has been yet discovered, since their expulsion from the blest abode, where some sorts of habitations were not necessary to guard their descendants from the heat of summer, or the cold of winter; from the meridian ray, or from the evening dew.* Those simple constructions, however, which nature and necessity first suggested, are not generally understood to be comprehended in the term Architecture, nor can they be the subject of laborious investigation, or of minute enquiry. It would be of little service, were it a task of even less difficulty, to trace the doubtful progress of ingenuity, from raising the hut of reeds or sods, through all its improvements, to the construction of the first habitation of wood, or stone, or other durable materials. In every account that has been published by the visitors of uncivilized countries, we find similar efforts of invention, and industry, to protect the inhabitants from the severities of climate, and the mutability of seasons. The wants of nature are few, and being suggested only by necessity, there can be little variety in their effects, but what a difference in the temperature of the atmosphere, or in the mode of procuring subsistence, may have introduced. Passing over, therefore, what may, not

* CAIN, we are informed in the sacred writings, built a City, and called it after his son, by the name of Enoch, iv. chap. Gen. ver. 17. If the Mosaic account be invariably received in its literal sense, it ennobles the science of Architecture by the antiquity of its origin; for Cain, who was the first-born of Adam, by this account, built, not merely an habitation for himself and his family, but a City; and that, according to the common calculation, only one hundred and twenty-nine years after the expulsion of his parents from Eden, and near four thousand years before the birth of Christ.

improperly, be called this *infant* state of Architecture, let us take up the inquiry, if possible, at that point of time when it had arrived at such maturity, as to merit the appellation of a science; when it was advanced to the dignity of being considered as one of the arts, the boast of sovereigns, the glory of nations; growing with their growth, declining with their decay, and following, with never-failing fidelity, the fate of empires.

ARCHITECTURE, then, in this view of it, has generally been resolved into three distinct branches of science—Architecture civil, military and naval.* With the first of these only have we any concern in the progress of our present enquiry.

It may be difficult, perhaps, to ascertain the precise period of the world, when Architecture may be first dignified with the appellation of a science;† when convenience for habitation ceased to be the sole object of the builder; when use gave place to ornament, and when men no longer followed their own inclinations in the erection of their dwellings; but measured their exertions by the rules of proportion, and the limitations of order.‡ It seems on all hands, however, to be agreed, that the Tyrians were the first, of whose perfection in the art of building history gives any authentic testimony.

* ARCHITECTURA duplex est. Altera civilis quæ curat ædificia, ut ita dicam, pacis et togæ socia, puta œdes, templa, porticus, &c. Altera militaris, quæ munitiones, bellique instrumenta. Prior perficit ut belle, posterior ut tuto, utraque ut bene habitemus.—Vitruv. Element. Architec. Lib. i.

† ARCHITECTURA est Ars bene ædificandi.—Ibid.

‡ ARCHITECTURE which, at a subsequent period, produced models of elegance and taste for succeeding ages to study and to imitate, arose from inconsiderable beginnings. The houses of the Greeks were simple cabins, constructed in an artless manner, of earth and clay.—The labyrinth at Crete, and other amazing structures, attributed to Dædalus, are fictions of the later poets, of which the silence of Homer and Herodotus is a sufficient proof.—Rutherford's View of Anc. Hist.

THAT the Tyrians had arrived to a very great degree of celebrity in the science of Architecture, we may conclude from the prophecy of Isaiah, when foretelling the downfall of their magnificent city.*

THE Grecians were the next in order of time, with whom Architecture seems to have obtained an honorable situation in the catalogue of arts. The specimens, that remain to our time, most powerfully evince to what sublimity of design, and correctness of execution, this learned people elevated it. With them originated the very names and distinctions, by which every order, and every ornament, are still denominated, among the followers of this profession. The Romans succeeded the Grecians in the empire of arts, as well as of arms; and the many remains which their desolated capital still exhibits of their ancient grandeur, amply testify, with what fidelity and effect they copied the designs, and followed the instructions, of their illustrious predecessors.† The Romans arrived at their *achme* in every species

* “Is this your joyous City, whose antiquity is of ancient days? Who hath taken this counsel against Tyre, the *crowning City*, whose Merchants are Princes, whose traffickers are the honorable of the earth? The Lord of Hosts hath purposed it to stain *the pride of all glory*, and to bring into contempt all the honorable of the earth. The Lord hath given a commandment against the Merchant City to destroy the *strong-holds* thereof. Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not, till the Assyrian founded it for them that dwell in the Wilderness; they *set up the Towers* thereof, they *raised up the Palaces* thereof. O Lord I will exalt thee, I will praise thy name, for thou hast done wonderful things: Thou hast made of a City, a heap; of a *defenced City*, a ruin: *A Palace* of Strangers, to be no City.”—Isaiah, Ch. 13, 14, and 15.

† ROME in her earliest days was a school of military discipline, of frugality, and politeness, but not of the fine arts. Her public edifices might have been vast and solid, but were devoid of ornament or grace. When the victorious Romans had visited and despoiled the cities of Greece they introduced an universal cultivation of genius, yet uncorrected by taste or refinement. Grecian Architecture removed from its original seat, flourished under new auspices in more numerous but less classical examples. For models of excellence in Architecture a recourse was always necessary to Greece, which could still give laws in the fine arts to her insolent mistress.”—Dallaway’s Constantinople.

of science during the reign of Augustus. It is no wonder that Architecture should accompany her sister arts at the time of their maturity, as well as in their decline. Thus, with the single exception of Trajan,* we do not read of a single reign, after that of Augustus, in which any building of great beauty or magnificence was erected by the Romans. The proudest monuments of this art, it is true, were involved in the general devastation of the western empire; but the fame of some of them would have survived the downfall of the imperial grandeur, if they had been either numerous, or magnificent. Under the last twenty-eight emperors, indeed, there was no leisure for the cultivation of science, or for the exercise of the arts. If we except Alexander Severus, few of them united the talents, with the inclination necessary for undertaking works of grandeur; but even the best of them were so continually harrassed by foreign enemies, or by domestic broils, that it became impossible to cultivate the arts of peace. Even Vitruvius would scarcely have been an architect under the reigns of a Maximin or a Gordian.

THE fifth century produced a new epoch in the annals of Architecture. The ravages of the Visigoths destroyed nearly all the most beautiful and magnificent monuments of Grecian, as well as of Roman antiquity; and introduced, in lieu of them, that stile of building commonly denominated Gothic. On the ruins of ancient Architecture was ingrafted, also, another species from the south, as the Gothic was from the north, viz, the Moorish or Saracenic. Though there was a general resemblance between these two stiles, insomuch that many writers have mistakenly treated of them as one and the

* TRAJAN'S pillar, as it is called, was designed and built in honor of that emperor by the Architect Apollodorus, whose name it has immortalized: In the same reign also that stupendous work the bridge over the Danube consisting of twenty-two arches was projected and accomplished. Caligula indeed is said to have begun a bridge over the Gulph of Baiæ, but this is not well authenticated.

same, there was a palpable, and a very material difference. As a principal object, however, in not a few of the succeeding pages, will be an endeavour to mark, with precision, the revolutions that have taken place in ancient Architecture, since the downfall of the western empire, (which, if accomplished, will enable us to determine, with tolerable accuracy, the origin and age of almost every ancient building in the world), my first effort, at the commencement of this investigation, shall be to bring into one point of view the opinions of all the writers of eminence on this intricate subject. Where they agree, or do not differ materially from each other, and their observations have received confirmation from more modern discoveries, they afford a tolerably correct and decisive rule, whereby to form our judgment. Where they differ among themselves, where they are contradicted by recent discoveries, or where their opinions have not met with the general concurrence of mankind, the subject is fairly open for new discussion, without the imputation of presumption; for new conjecture, without the charge of temerity. And even though the talents, or the experience of the Author, should not be, at all times, fully adequate to his subject, yet, if those deficiencies be in some measure compensated by a competent degree of ardor in the enquiry, and by a diligent attention in the investigation, whether wholly successful or not, his labors may perhaps, from the liberality of the present age, be solaced with a reasonable prospect of indulgence, where absolute approbation cannot be obtained, or where concurrence in opinion is necessarily withheld. "Men are at liberty now," says a celebrated writer (whom I am about to cite for a very different purpose) "to propose whatever may be useful, without its being imputed to them for a crime, and to invent what they mean should give pleasure, without danger of displeasing by the very attempt."*

* HOR. WALPOLE'S *Anecdotes of Painting*.

· IN pursuance of my plan, then, the outline of which I have already suggested, I shall place first in my catalogue of critiques on ancient Architecture, the observations of Stephen Riou Esq. published several years since, under the title of “*Historical Remarks on Ancient Architecture.*” After having given a general view of the origin of building; having traced the progress of the art, from its simple beginning to its more complicated completion, under the mild dominion of the Greek republicks; and having lamented that, of all the works upon the subject of Architecture, which must have been written by the professors of the art among the Romans, the fragments of Vitruvius have alone escaped the general wreck of that proud empire, he proceeds thus—“Tacitus, indeed, informs us, that there
“were no persons of great genius, after the battle of Actium, but in
“the decline of the Roman empire, such a decline seeming also to
“affect the intellects of individuals, whence learning and all, the fine
“arts, which had flourished to admiration for so long a period,
“fell into disrepute, and were absorbed by the barbarisms which
“overwhelmed the land. Architecture soon saw itself miserably
“transformed; every good mode thereof, was overthrown and
“spoiled, every true practice corrupted, its antique graces and
“majesty lost, and a manner altogether confused and irregular
“introduced, wherein none of its former features were discernible.
“The Goths prevailed! At last came the fifteenth and sixteenth
“centuries of the christian æra, so glorious for the restoration of
“literature and of arts. The taste of old Greece and Rome, was
“revived in its true splendor and dignity.—Architecture then soon
“appeared in Italy, with the expected advantages,—The name
“of Gothic was given to all such buildings, as were not designed
“according to the rules of Grecian or Roman Architecture.
“There are two sorts of Gothic, the ancient and the modern
“(but improperly so called) in England and the Northern.

“ parts of Europe. The ancient Gothic includes the Saxon and
 “ Danish,* in which indeed, we may observe some traces of elegance
 “ and strength. It appears that their artists were not entirely
 “ ignorant of proportions, though they did not strictly confine
 “ themselves to such as were beautiful; solely attentive to render
 “ their works solid and durable, they were more studious to produce
 “ the marvellous, by the enormous size of their fabricks, than by any
 “ regularity of structure, or propriety of ornaments. These are the
 “ marks that characterize the Goths, a rough unpolished people, of
 “ huge stature and of dreadful looks, that issuing out from the northern
 “ parts of our hemisphere, where necessity taught them to guard
 “ against the violence of storms, and the fury of torrents, increased by
 “ the inundations of melted snow, carried into milder climates
 “ their monstrous taste of heavy Architecture, and only in a small
 “ degree corrected their encumbered notions, by the sight of Roman
 “ edifices.—This is a summary of the ancient or heavy Gothic Archi-
 “ tecture; some of the cathedrals and other public edifices, not only
 “ in this country, but in many others of the continent, still remain
 “ as models of this sort. Modern Gothic, as it is called, is deduced
 “ from a different quarter. It is distinguished by the lightness of its
 “ works, by the excessive boldness of its elevations, by the delicacy,
 “ profusion, and extravagant fancy of its ornaments: the pillars of
 “ this kind are as slender, as those of the ancient Gothic are massive.
 “ Such productions, cannot admit the heavy Goths for their Authors:
 “ how can be attributed to them a style of Architecture, which was
 “ only introduced in the tenth century of our æra, several years after
 “ the destruction of all those kingdoms, which the Goths had raised

* THIS is one of the points of contest. The Saxon, and Danish styles are massive, clumsy, and dark, and are therefore supposed by many to have had some other origin than the Goths; who are generally thought to have given name to that species of Architecture *alone*, whose characteristic qualities are elevation, lightness, and elegance.

“ upon the ruins of the Roman empire, and at a time when the very
 “ name of Goth was entirely forgotten? From all the marks of this
 “ new Architecture, it can only be attributed to the Moors, or what
 “ is the same thing, to the Arabians or Saracens, who have expressed,
 “ in their Architecture, the same taste as in their poesy, both the one
 “ and the other, falsely delicate, crowded with superfluous ornaments,
 “ and often very unnatural.* The imagination is highly worked up
 “ in both; but it is an extravagant imagination; and this has rendered
 “ the edifices of the Arabians, as extraordinary as their thoughts.—
 “ Such buildings have been vulgarly called modern Gothic, but their
 “ true appellation is Arabesc, Saracenic, or Moresc. This manner
 “ was introduced into Europe through Spain.—The phisic and
 “ philosophy of the Arabians, spread themselves through Europe, and
 “ with these their Architecture.—The holy war gave the christians,
 “ who had been there, an idea of the Saracen’s works, which were
 “ afterwards imitated by them in the west; and they refined upon it
 “ every day as they proceeded in building churches. The Italians,
 “ (among which were yet some Greek refugees,) and with them the
 “ French, Germans, and Flemings, joined into a fraternity, procuring
 “ Papal bulls for their encouragement and particular privileges. They
 “ stiled themselves free-masons, and ranged from nation to nation, as
 “ they found churches to be built through the piety of multitudes.
 “ Their government was regular, and where they fixed, near the
 “ building they made a camp of hills. A surveyor governed in chief,
 “ and every tenth man was called a warden and overlooked each

* THIS is taking too much for granted. That in the countries formerly subject to the Moors, specimens of Gothic Architecture are to be found, is very true; but that the Arabians are the source, from which the invention was derived, is far from being conceded. Even if the ancient Gothic buildings in that part of Spain formerly subject to the Moors, could be proved to have been built by them, it does not follow that they built them upon Saracen or Arabic models, as the Goths were the ancient inhabitants of Spain, and were only invaded by the Moors; but more of this hereafter.

“ nine.* The gentlemen of the neighbourhood, either out of charity
 “ or commutation of penance, gave the materials and carriage, and
 “ hence were called accepted masons. It is admirable with what
 “ œconomy, and how soon, they erected such considerable structures.
 “ But as all modes, when once the old rational ways are despised, turn
 “ at last into unbounded fancies, the tracery of these architects
 “ who affected towers and steeples, though the Saracens affected
 “ cupolas,† introduced too much mincing of the stone into open
 “ battlements, spindling pinnacles, and little carvings, without
 “ proportion of distance, so that the essential rules of good perspective
 “ and duration were forgot.”

So far this writer, who is at least entitled to great attention, for the plausibility of his account. We shall see what others have said on the same subject. In Horace Walpole's celebrated work, before cited on a different occasion, are the following observations. “Vertue,” says he, “and several other curious persons, have taken great pains to enlighten the obscure ages of *that science*,” (treating of Architecture,) “they find no names of architects, nay, little more than what they might have known without enquiry, viz, that our ancestors had buildings.—They did indeed, now and then, stumble upon an arch, a tower, nay a whole church, so dark, so ugly, so uncouth, that they

* ZEALOUS Free-Masons carry the origin of their institution up to a much earlier period of antiquity: some even so high as to Jabal the son of Lamech before the flood, and cite the 4th Chapter of Genesis for their authority. Others assert that the fraternity took their rise at the time of building the Temple of Solomon, who granted them a sort of charter of incorporation, and gave them great privileges as a reward for their industry and diligence in carrying on that work.

† IN this the great difference between Gothic and Saracen Architecture has been supposed by the best authorities to consist. Cupolas have been exclusively attributed to the Saracens by most writers, as pinnacles and steeples have to the Gothic architects. Our Author here supposed one only to have been ingrafted, by way of improvement, on the other.

“ were sure it could not have been built since any idea of grace had
 “ been transported into the island. Yet with this incontestible security
 “ on their side, they still had room for doubting: Danes, Saxons,
 “ Normans, were all ignorant enough, to have claims to peculiar
 “ ugliness in their fashions. It was difficult to ascertain the periods,
 “ when one ungracious form justled out another; and this perplexity
 “ at last, led them into such refinement, that the term *Gothic*
 “ *Architecture*, inflicted as a reproach on our ancient buildings in
 “ general, by our ancestors, who revived the Grecian taste, is now
 “ considered but as a species of modern elegance, by those who wish
 “ to distinguish the modern style from it. This Saxon style, begins
 “ to be defined by flat and round arches, by some *undulating** zig-
 “ zags on certain old fabricks, and by a very few other characteristicks,
 “ all evidences of barbarous and ignorant times. I do not mean to say
 “ simply, that the round arch is a proof of ignorance; but being so
 “ natural, it is simply, when unaccompanied by any graceful orna-
 “ ments, a mark of a rude age; if attended by mis-shapen and heavy
 “ decorations, a certain mark of it. The pointed arch, that peculiar
 “ of Gothic Architecture, was certainly intended as an improvement
 “ on the circular, and the men who had not the happiness of lighting
 “ on the simplicity and proportion of the Greek orders, were however,
 “ so lucky as to strike out a thousand graces and effects, which
 “ rendered their buildings magnificent, yet genteel; vast, yet light;
 “ venerable and picturesque. It is difficult for the noblest Grecian
 “ temple, to convey half so many impressions to the mind, as a
 “ cathedral does, of the best Gothic taste; a proof of skill in the

* WITH all due deference to a writer of such established reputation, this is a misapplication of terms. The sea (from whose motion the metaphor is taken) does not undulate in acute angles, but in conical curves, whereas the ornament, called zig-zag, is a continual succession of very acute angles. I shall hereafter have occasion to observe, that all undulations, or ornaments partaking of the sections of globes, cones, and cylinders, are of Saxon extraction; but that angular ones, are to be attributed to some other people: they were certainly introduced into this kingdom by Norman architects.

“architects, and of address in the priests who erected them. The
 “latter exhausted their knowledge of the passions in composing
 “edifices, whose pomp, mechanism, vaults, tombs, painted windows,
 “gloom, and perspectives, infused such sensations of romantic
 “devotion; and they were happy in finding artists, capable of
 “executing such machinery. One must have taste, to be sensible of
 “the beauties of Grecian Architecture; one only wants passions to
 “feel Gothic. In Saint Peter’s, one is convinced, that it was built
 “by great princes; in Westminster Abbey, one thinks not of the
 “builder, the religion of the place makes the first impression.—
 “Gothic churches infuse superstition; Grecian, admiration. The
 “Papal See amassed its wealth by Gothic cathedrals, and displays it
 “in Grecian temples. I certainly do not mean by this little contrast,
 “to make any comparison between the rational beauties of regular
 “Architecture, and the unrestrained licentiousness of that which is
 “called Gothic. Yet I am clear that the persons who executed the
 “latter, had much more knowledge of their art, more taste, more
 “genius, and more propriety than we chuse to imagine.—Felibien
 “took great pains to ascertain the revival of Architecture, after the
 “destruction of the true taste, by the inundation of the Northern
 “nations; but his discoveries were by no means answerable to his
 “labor. Of French builders, he did find a few names, and here and
 “there an Italian or German. Of English, he owns he found no
 “trace. So careful have the Monks, the only historians of those
 “times, been to celebrate bigotry and pass over the arts.—As all the
 “other arts, however, were confined to cloysters, so undoubtedly was
 “Architecture too: and when we read that a bishop or an abbot
 “built an edifice, I am persuaded that they often gave the plan, as
 “well as furnished the necessary funds.”

THE differences between this, and the preceding writer, whose

observations have been quoted on the subject of ancient Architecture, need not to be pointed out. It is sufficient to remark, that the former is the more general, and popular opinion, although the latter appears the more correct, and probable. In a future part of this work, occasion will be taken to shew, that the characteristic ornaments, and distinguishing principles, of the Saxon and Norman styles of Architecture, are diametrically the opposite of each other, and therefore cannot have had a common source. The Norman, and the Gothic, have many qualities in common: the Saxon, and the Saracen, have the same. The Gothic, and the Saracen, few: the Saxon, and the Norman, none. Of this, however, a subsequent chapter will treat *more* fully, and I trust not *less* satisfactorily; inasmuch as I shall not despair of establishing the exact points of difference, and lines of discrimination, from a building which forms one of the principal subjects of enquiry in these pages; and which, being erected at three very different, and distant, periods, marks with peculiar precision at this day, the respective styles of the Saxons, the Normans, and the Goths. In the meantime, let us examine other opinions on the subject. In the celebrated travels through Spain, undertaken professedly in quest of Moresc Architecture, and published by one of our countrymen, more than twenty years since, describing the cathedral of Burgos, we find the following passage, which I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of observing, though perhaps somewhat prematurely, appears to me decisive of the point in question. This fabrick is a still extant monument of great labor, and expence, situated in a country, formerly subject to the Goths, built in the true Gothic style, but without one of the characteristic appendages peculiar to the Arabic Architecture.*

* THE empire of the Goths, was in its greatest glory about the year 500. for then it comprehended the southern provinces of France, *all Spain*, and Mauritania in Africa. About the year 713, Count Julian, governor of Mauritania, with the assistance of the Saracens and Moors, invaded Spain and gained a decisive victory. They never however, could subdue the north of Spain, whither the

“THIS cathedral,” says our traveller, “is one of the most magnificent
 “ structures of the Gothic kind, now existing in Europe; but although
 “ it rises very high and is seen at a great distance, its situation in a
 “ hole, cut out of the side of the hill, is a great disadvantage to its
 “ general effect. Its form is exactly the same as that of York minster,
 “ which I look upon to be the criterion, according to which, the beauties
 “ or defects of every Gothic church, are to be estimated.—We were
 “ struck with the resemblance between these buildings, both were
 “ embellished with profusion of statues.—Those of Burgos are still
 “ entire, and much more delicate than one would expect, considering
 “ the age in which they were sculptured.—The foliage work, arches,
 “ pillars, and battlements, are executed in the most elaborate and
 “ finished manner of that style, which has usually been called Gothic:
 “ of late, this appellation has been exploded, and that of Arabic
 “ substituted for it. I confess, I see some reason to *doubt of the*
 “ *propriety* of this second epithet. In the buildings I have had an
 “ opportunity of examining in Spain and in Sicily, *which are*
 “ *undoubtedly Saracenic*, I have never been able to discover any thing
 “ like an original design, from which the Gothic ornaments might be
 “ supposed to be copied. The arches used in our old cathedrals are
 “ pointed; those of the Saracens are almost semicircular, whenever they
 “ are not turned in the form of an horse-shoe. The churches of our
 “ ancestors shoot up into spires, towers, pinnacles, and fillagree work,
 “ and no such thing as a cupola, seems ever to have been attempted.
 “ The mosques and other buildings of the Arabians, are rounded into

Goths retired, and where Burgos is situated. Supported by christian princes, they afterwards made war upon the Moors and Saracens, with various success, till their descendants in 1491 totally subdued them, and wrested the kingdom of Granada from the hands of Boabdil, the Moorish king. From this it should appear, that the Gothic cathedral of Burgos, cannot be derived from a Moresc or Saracenic source, since it is situated in the only part of Spain, that was never subject to their power; and it is not probable that it would have been built by the native and proper inhabitants of the country, after the models of the despised, detested, and ultimately, the persecuted invaders,

“ domes and coved roofs, with now and then a slender square minaret,
 “ terminated in a ball or pine-apple.* The Arabian walls shine with
 “ painted tiles, mosaics, and stucco, none of which ever appear in
 “ *our* ancient edifices. The pillars in the latter, are generally grouped
 “ many together, and from a very small member of an entablature,
 “ springs one or two arches; in the former the columns stand single, and
 “ if placed more than one together, to support some heavy part, they
 “ never touch, or as it were, grow into each other; there is always a
 “ thick architrave at least, to support the arch, and commonly an
 “ upright piece of wall, to resist the lateral pressure. Whenever it
 “ happens, as in the great divisions of the mosque at Cordova, that
 “ four pillars are joined together, it is by means of a square wall or
 “ pier, at the four angles of which, are placed the columns perfectly
 “ separated and distinct.—The christian structures are extremely
 “ lofty, and full of long windows with painted glass; the porches and
 “ doors are deep recesses, with several arches one within another,
 “ crowded with little saints and angels.—Now every thing is different
 “ in the mosque of Cordova, which I think may be fairly deemed, a
 “ proper sample of Arabian sacred Architecture, to establish a
 “ judgment upon, whether we consider its antiquity, its present state,
 “ or the princely hands that raised it. Here the elevation of the
 “ roof is trifling, there are no windows of any size, and what there are,
 “ are covered with fillagree work in stone, so as never to admit any
 “ great quantity of light, which was received from sky-lights and
 “ cupolas, and from the occasional opening of the doors: the sinking
 “ back of the arches over the gates is scarce perceptible, as they are
 “ almost of an equal projection with the walls of the building. From

* THIS observation, the reader is particularly desired to carry in his recollection, because if the Author of these sheets be not mistaken, the circle and the triangle form the basis of all the different species of ancient Architecture. The circle of the Arabian and Saxon styles, the triangle of the Gothic and Norman.

“ all these differential marks, I am inclined to suspect, that our old
 “ structures have been new named and mahometanized, without
 “ sufficient proof of their Arabic origin. The best age of that style,
 “ began in England in the reign of Henry III, for till then we built
 “ in the clumsy style, called Saxon;* destitute of every recom-
 “ mendation but solidity: the new taste came in all probability from
 “ France, introduced by some Provençals that followed the Queen.
 “ If you suppose it imported into that kingdom, by those that
 “ returned from the crusadoes, we must of course set it down as an
 “ eastern invention. The question is what part of the east it came
 “ from, and whether it was the same as that employed by the Arabians.
 “ If there were clear proofs of its being a branch of the Arabic
 “ Architecture, it would still appear extraordinary, that its very first
 “ introduction into Christendom, should be attended with so great a
 “ variation from the models it was meant to imitate.—Some persons
 “ have suspected it to have been the manner practised by the eastern
 “ Christians, and not adopted by the Arabs, who might disdain to
 “ have any thing similar in their places of worship with those of a
 “ conquered people. Others have thought it comes from Persia, or
 “ even further east; and some again maintain it to be an European
 “ invention, or at least a barbarous mode of building, brought by
 “ some great genius to the elegant perfection we behold in our
 “ cathedrals.

* THIS assertion should be made with some qualification. Many of the Norman ornaments were introduced into our buildings, immediately after the conquest; and with a rapidity, very common to newly introduced fashions, our architects began to affect Norman imitation in their general style; so that for some reigns, our public buildings presented an awkward mixture of Norman appendages, affixed to Saxon edifices. The reign, to which the introduction of good Gothic Architecture is here attributed, was perhaps the first, in which every Saxon idea was entirely exploded, but many specimens still remain, to prove that Norman Architecture was well known in England, so early as the reign of King Stephen.

THE reader will recollect, that the *present* subject of enquiry is merely the *origin* and *foundation* of every species of ancient Architecture, which is not to be immediately derived from Greece, or Rome. Of the introduction of each particular style, Saxon, Norman, and Gothic, into this country, and of the most minute characteristic distinctions of each, I shall have occasion to treat very fully hereafter; and for that purpose, to examine the opinions of some eminent persons on *that* particular topick, whose names have before occurred under the other view of the subject. Of this description is the gentleman, whose words I am about to cite. Mr. Bentham, in his History of Ely Cathedral, (a most elaborate and esteemed work) has treated the subject in *all* its parts: for my *immediate* purpose, I have only to introduce the following short quotation, from his introductory chapter on ancient Architecture and its origin.

“THE style of building with pointed arches is modern, and seems
“not to have been known in the world, till the Goths ceased to make
“a figure in it. Sir Christopher Wren thought this should rather be
“called the Saracenic way of building. The first appearance of it
“here indeed, was in the time of the crusades; and that might induce
“him to think, the archetype was brought hither by some who had
“been engaged in those expeditions, when they returned from the
“Holy Land. But the observations of several learned travellers, who
“have accurately surveyed the ancient mode of building in those parts
“of the world, do by no means favour that opinion, or discover the
“least traces of it. Indeed I have not yet met with any satisfactory
“account of the origin of pointed arches; when invented, or where first
“taken notice of. Some have imagined they might possibly have
“taken their rise from those arcades we see in the early Norman or
“Saxon buildings, on walls, where the wide semicircular arches

“cross and intersect each other, and form at their intersection a
“narrow, and sharp pointed arch.”*

IN the preface to Grose's *Antiquities of England and Wales*, is the following dissertation on the origin of Gothic Architecture. “Most of the writers who mention our ancient buildings, particularly “the religious ones, notwithstanding the striking difference in the styles “of their construction, class them all under the common denomination “of Gothic; a general appellation by them, applied to all buildings “not exactly conformable to some one of the five orders of Archi- “tecture. Our modern antiquaries more accurately divide them into “Saxon, Norman, and Saracenic; or that species vulgarly, though “improperly called Gothic.—To what country or people, the style of “Architecture called Gothic owes its origin, is by no means “satisfactorily determined. It is indeed generally conjectured to be “of Arabian extraction, and to have been introduced into Europe, by “some persons returning from the crusades in the Holy Land.—If the “supposition be well grounded, it seems likely that many ancient “buildings of this kind, or at least their remains, would be found in “those countries, from whence it is said to have been brought. “Le Brun, an indefatigable and inquisitive traveller, has published “many views of eastern buildings, particularly about the Holy Land: “in all these only one* Gothic ruin, the church near Acre, and a few

* SEVERAL specimens will be hereafter given of this, which may at first appear, from their particular circumstances, to corroborate this opinion; as they occur in those parts of the church of Southwell, which are believed to have been built in the earliest reigns of our Norman kings; notwithstanding which, however, it does not appear to me a reasonable conjecture.

† It seems almost less necessary to combat the opinion of Gothic Architecture being of Arabic origin by argument, than to account for such an opinion having been ever entertained, so contrary to all the reports of travellers, and to every reason drawn from analogy.

“pointed arches occur; and those built by the christians, when in possession of that country.—At Ispahan, the grand market-place is surrounded by divers magnificent Gothic buildings, particularly the royal mosque and the theatre: the magnificent bridge over the river Zenderoet, is also a Gothic structure; but no mention is made *when* or by whom these were built.”* After giving a description of several other buildings in the Gothic taste, whose ages are equally uncertain, and therefore the appearances of which afford no reasonable ground of argument, he proceeds to a description of the tomb of Abdalla, apparently the earliest of all the buildings in its neighborhood, and which, being in the Gothic style, might afford some such ground; but he goes on to observe, that the temple of Mecca, which was built in the same age, to which this tomb of Abdalla may be reasonably attributed, having semicircular arches,† makes all argument deducible from the style of the latter, too conjectural to be depended on. “Some,” proceeds Mr. Grose, “have supposed that this kind of Architecture, was brought into Spain by the Moors, who possessed themselves of a great part of that country the beginning of the eighth century, which they held till the latter end of the fifteenth; and that from thence, by way of France, it was introduced into England. This, at first sight, may seem plausible; but if it were fact, the public buildings erected by that people, would have borne testimony of it. But not the least traces of Gothic Architecture are to be met with, in the portraits of the Moorish palaces. Perhaps,” concludes this writer, “a more general knowledge of these buildings,

* MANY other buildings are noticed by Mr. Grose, of genuine Gothic structure; but unless it were shewn that they were erected prior to the introduction of this style into Europe, it proves nothing in support of the opinion, that ‘Gothic Architecture is of Mahometan origin.’ It is well known, that in later times, this style has been fashionable among the Mussulmen, as well as in christian countries.

† MR. GROSE refers to the print of it in Sale’s Koran. That print is *professedly* taken from a drawing in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

“ would throw some lights on the subject, at present almost entirely
 “ enveloped in obscurity.”

THE following passages occur in a very recent treatise on ancient Architecture, from which I extract with more than usual freedom; first, because, being one of the latest authorities on this subject, the opinions of this writer’s predecessors have passed in review before him, and on those opinions he has made his decision: secondly, because to historical information, and general observation, he has sought occasion to add the most minute architectural investigation on a spot peculiarly adapted for its attainment.*

“ THE writers who have hitherto treated on this subject, have
 “ principally directed their attention to the pointed arch, which they
 “ seem to consider as the leading characteristic of this species of
 “ Architecture. Many disquisitions have been written concerning
 “ its origin, but it still remains unexplained. I have bestowed much
 “ thought on this part, and flatter myself that, though the conjectures
 “ I am now about to offer, respecting its origin, are entirely new, they
 “ may, upon mature consideration, be allowed to approach as near to
 “ certainty, as the nature of the subject will admit. If the pointed
 “ arch be considered detached from the building, its origin may long
 “ be sought for in vain: and indeed I imagine that this is the reason
 “ it has eluded the researches of so many ingenious men: but on the
 “ contrary, if we examine it in a relative view, as a part in the composi-
 “ tion of the whole, it will become more easy to account for its form, or
 “ for that of any other component part. If we take a comprehensive
 “ view of any of these structures externally, we shall perceive that not
 “ only the arch, but every vertical part of the whole superstructure
 “ terminates in a point; and the general form, if viewed from any of

* MURPHY’S introduction to the history of Batalha. 1796.

“ the principal entrances, (the station from which the character of an
 “ edifice should be taken) will be found to have a pyramidal
 “ tendency.* The porticos of the first story, whether they be three,
 “ or five in number, are reduced to one at the top; and this is
 “ sometimes crowned with a lofty pediment; which might more
 “ properly be called a pyramid, as we see in the transept front of
 “ Westminster abbey, and York minster. If we look further on, in a
 “ direct line with its apex, we frequently see a lofty spire or a pyramid,
 “ rising over the intersection of the nave and transept. Each of the
 “ buttresses and turrets, is crowned with a small pyramid. If niches
 “ are introduced, they are crowned with a sort of pyramidal canopy.
 “ The arches of the doors and windows terminate in a point; and
 “ every little accessory ornament, which enriches the whole, has a
 “ pointed or angular tendency. Spires, pinnacles, and pointed
 “ arches, are always found to accompany each other, and very
 “ clearly imply a system, founded on the principles of the pyramid.†
 “ It appears evident, from these instances, that the pyramidal form
 “ actually exists throughout the several component parts, and the
 “ general disposition of the edifice, approaches as near to it, at least,
 “ as the ordonnance of an historical painting, which is said to be
 “ pyramidally grouped. Hence we may comprehend the reason, why
 “ the arch was made pointed, as no other form could have been

* THE adaptation of the pointed arch to all the other distinguishing characteristics of Gothic Architecture, has never been denied. The author of the work under consideration, has the merit of illustrating, with peculiar accuracy and originality, the congeniality and congruity of the pointed arch with the spire and pyramid; but after all his ingenious observations, we are still left in the dark respecting its *origin*; the point he professes especially to ascertain.

† THIS observation appears to be a complete answer to those who suppose the Gothic Architecture to be of Saracenic origin: because, as has been before observed, though the Gothic edifices do certainly partake of some of the characteristic distinctions of Saracenic Architecture, they are as certainly wholly without others; for instance, domes and cupolas.

“ introduced with equal propriety, in a pyramidal figure, to answer
 “ the different purposes of uniformity, fitness, and strength. It is in
 “ vain, therefore, that we seek its origin in the branches of trees,* or
 “ in the intersection of Saxon or Grecian circles; or in the perspective
 “ of arches; or in any other accidental concurrence of fortuitous
 “ circumstances. The idea of the pointed arch, seems clearly to have
 “ been suggested by the pyramid, and its origin, must consequently
 “ be attributed, not to accident, but to ordination. But granting for
 “ a moment that any of the above-mentioned conjectures were true,
 “ we should be as far as ever from ascertaining the principle of these
 “ edifices. There never was a species of Architecture, the properties
 “ of which could be determined from the arch alone: even in the
 “ Gothic, where it forms so conspicuous a part, it does not govern in
 “ the composition, but follows the general order of things; as it is not
 “ a cause, but a concomitant part, and its pointed termination, is a
 “ consequence arising from a general actuating principle.† Whether
 “ the Gothic architects were the inventors of this arch, or borrowed
 “ the idea of it from others, is not easy to determine, but it is very

* ADMITTING, which I do in its full extent, the general truth of these observations, so far as they tend to illustrate the consentaneousness and uniformity of all the parts in a Gothic building, I am by no means obliged to subscribe to this doctrine, respecting the *origin* of Gothic designs. The opinion of Bishop Warburton on this subject, which will be introduced in its proper place, appears to me more natural; better supported by reasoning, as well as authority; and sanctioned by more general acquiescence.

† To those who have been in the habit of viewing this subject in a very different light, it required something more than mere assertion, to carry conviction of the Authors position. I profess myself to be one of those, who firmly believe the intersecting branches of a grove, gave the first hint for the formation of those frequently repeated pointed arches, which support the roofs of all large Gothic buildings. These, and the pillars from which they sprang, formed the principal objects of consideration in each edifice: the doors, windows, even the spires and pinnacles, were inferior matters; formed indeed on the same general principles of lightness and elevation, in reference to the pyramid, and in perfect uniformity with the more material parts; but rather following, than governing, the nobler part of the composition; rather considered as matters of appropriate ornament, than of fundamental necessity.

“ reasonable to suppose it originated with themselves, as they were the
 “ only scientific builders known to have used the pyramidal figure
 “ in the composition of their edifices, except the Egyptians: and it is
 “ generally supposed that the latter were ignorant of the art of
 “ constructing arches, though in other respects an ingenious people.
 “ But the Gothic architects, in using this arch, did no more, in my
 “ opinion, than the Greeks or Romans would have done in similar
 “ circumstances. For if we suppose for a moment, that an Athenian
 “ artist of the age of Pericles, or a Roman architect of the Augustan
 “ age, had been called in to finish a Gothic structure, that had neither
 “ doors nor windows, he could not, I think, have introduced any
 “ other but a pointed arch, in an edifice where every part grew up to
 “ a point, without being guilty of a direct violation of the laws of art,
 “ and of the precepts, so strongly inculcated in the Architecture of his
 “ own country.* The rule observed by the Gothic architects, of
 “ adapting the form of the arch, to the general figure of the edifice, is
 “ I believe, consonant with the custom of the ancients, though I
 “ cannot find that any writer, ancient or modern, has taken notice of
 “ this circumstance.

“ The Grecian temples, which were mostly of an oblong form, have
 “ their doors and windows terminated horizontally, in all the designs
 “ that I have seen of the ruins of that country. Some exceptions may
 “ perhaps be found, but I believe they never occur, except where
 “ propriety was made subservient to convenience. The Romans, who
 “ indulged in a greater variety of forms, furnish us with many
 “ examples, wherein the principle of uniformity is observed; the doors

* How much a matter of regret then it is, that the Gothic architects were not equally attentive to uniformity. They violated, without scruple, every rule of their art, (according to the doctrine here inculcated) when they introduced, into many of our Saxon and Norman edifices, pointed doors and windows, and erected on many more of them, spires and pinnacles. Witness Canterbury, Lincoln, Southwell, and many other Cathedrals.

“and windows of their quadrangular edifices being, generally
“speaking, closed horizontally in the manner of the Grecians, and the
“apertures of their rotund edifices, terminated with semi-circular
“arches, as we see in the amphitheatre of Verona, and in the coliseum,
“the theatre of Marcellus, the temple of Bacchus and Faunus at
“Rome, &c. to which uniformity these buildings are indebted for a
“great part of their beauty. Of this, the author of the ingenious
“inquiry into the origin of our ideas of the sublime and beautiful,
“appears to have been perfectly sensible.” ‘It is in a kind of
‘artificial infinity’ (he says) ‘I believe, we ought to look for the cause,
‘why a rotund has such a noble effect: for in a rotund, whether it be
‘a building or a plantation, you can no where fix a boundary. Turn
‘which way you will, the same object still seems to continue, and
‘imagination has no rest.’ “But the parts must be uniform, as well
“as circularly disposed, to give this figure its full force; because any
“difference, whether it be in the disposition, or in the figure, or even
“in the colour of the parts, is highly prejudicial to the idea of infinity,
“which every change must check and interrupt, at every alteration
“commencing a new series. Indeed there is no species of Archi-
“tecture, that has the least claim to excellence, wherein this uniform
“consent of parts has not been considered as indispensibly necessary
“to the general effect and harmony of the composition. We even
“find it observed in those simple structures of the Egyptians, that
“resemble a frustrum of a pyramid; which structures probably first
“suggested the idea of doors with oblique sides, narrower at the top
“than at the bottom.—Upon the whole, if the form of the arches,
“employed in closing the apertures of a regular edifice, contributes in
“any degree to the effect and harmony of the composition, it is
“probable that the order, here assigned to each, appears the most
“natural, and the most consistent with the rules of fitness and
“uniformity; that is to say, a pointed arch, in a pyramidal structure:

“an horizontal arch, (if the term be allowed) in a square or oblong
“building; and a semi-circular arch, in a rotund. Whatever merit
“these different arches may possess, abstracted from their properties
“of strength, they shew it to most advantage by this arrangement:
“were it to be transposed, the incongruity resulting from such a
“discordant composition would be so apparent, as to destroy the
“effect of the whole edifice.—The Gothic architects appear to have
“been no strangers to the propriety of the preceding ordinance, as is
“manifest from the various kinds of arches they employed, to coincide
“with the contingent forms of their buildings; and whoever should
“undertake to determine their style of Architecture, from the pointed
“tendency of the arch alone, would not always be correct in his
“decision. Their best artists made it a rule to adopt the arch that
“was most congenial in its form to the figure of the edifice. The
“semi-circle was therefore excluded, because their structures were
“never round: but where the aspect of the edifice was horizontal, the
“apertures also were closed horizontally.—The refectory at Batalha,
“which is not an inelegant specimen of Gothic Architecture, furnishes
“us with a striking example of this nature, that enables us to reason
“on facts. The general figure of the plan, and of the elevation of this
“refectory, is nearly like that of a low Grecian pavilion, and all its
“apertures, without exception, are closed in the Grecian manner: but
“if each of its buttresses, instead of terminating under the cornice,
“had been carried above the railing, and crowned with a pinnacle,
“and the ends, if finished with sharp pointed gables, its apertures, I
“conceive in that case would not have been closed horizontally, but
“with a pointed arch, somewhat similar to those of king’s college
“chapel at Cambridge.

“HENCE it appears that it was propriety, and not caprice, that
“influenced the Gothic architects in closing the apertures of their

“ edifices, and that a building may be in the true style of the *modern*
“ *Norman Gothic*,* without possessing a single pointed arch. Some
“ examples, I am aware may be pointed out, among the Greeks and
“ Romans, of a practice contrary to what is here laid down, but these
“ exceptions are merely accidental, or introduced through necessity,
“ which often excludes all other considerations. Among such a
“ number of architects as flourished during the continuation of the
“ Greek and Roman empires, there must, no doubt, have been many
“ who were ignorant of the true principles of this complicated art;
“ and, from the designs of such persons, we cannot with propriety
“ draw affirmative conclusions, nor consider their work in any other
“ view, than as monuments of errors; and no errors, however ancient,
“ or however countenanced by long practice, are fit objects of imitation.
“ If rules were laid down for determining, with precision, what ancient
“ monuments are of the true standard principle of correctness, they
“ would greatly contribute to accelerate the progress of Architecture.
“ But to ascertain such rules, would require the qualifications of the
“ philosopher, united with those of the artist. He, whose mind is
“ enlightened by these reasoning powers, knows how to stamp a just
“ value upon works of real merit, and to reject any excrescence that
“ *Old Time*,” as Milton says, “ with his huge drag net, has conveyed
“ down to us along the stream of ages.”

* THIS is an expression against which I hold myself bound to object, as introducing a confusion of ideas, wholly inconsistent with the general correctness and superior ingenuity of this author's composition. It has before been observed, that the Norman and the Gothic Architecture, do appear to have *some* qualities in common, and may perhaps be derived originally from the same source; but Norman and Gothic have their characteristic differences, as well as their characteristic similitudes; and I have no hesitation in pronouncing a building of the fashion here described, without pinnacles or other pointed elevations, and with doors and windows horizontally terminated, not to be a correct specimen of Gothic, at whatever period, and by whatever persons erected.

THUS far the historian of Batalba.—The few following sentences, on the subject of ancient Architecture in Britain, are selected from a treatise, most deservedly admired, and very lately made public.*

“THIS country, although subject to Rome, the mistress of the world, in an enlightened age, partook but in a very small degree of its elegance and luxuries, if we may judge from the Architectural Roman remains existing at this time. After the departure of Constantine, a style was adopted, in which were united strength and grandeur; but it differed so much from the ancient Architecture of Greece and Rome, that, although it is said by some authors to be a corruption of the Roman, from some of its resemblances, yet an architectural eye may immediately discover the difference; indeed, it is now better, and more generally, known by the title of Saxon, from its being practiced by the Saxons prior to the Norman conquest.

“IN the eleventh century, some alterations in the Saxon style of Architecture took place. They were introduced by the Normans, and were executed in a very rough, massive way, at first; but in a short time they became more expert workmen, and there were many stately buildings remaining, to bear testimony of the profuse ornaments they afterwards adopted, especially the principal entrances and choirs of ecclesiastical buildings. We find them improving in their workmanship, until the middle of the twelfth century, in almost every province of the kingdom, particularly at Rochester, under the superintendance of Bishop Gundulph, whose skill and expertness in masonry, caused it there to be styled

* WILKINS'S essay on the Venta Icenorum of the Romans, —Archæol. Tom. xii.

“Gundulph’s Architecture.*—Notwithstanding the semi-circular arch
 “and the frequent repetition of ornament in some of the detailed
 “finishings of the mouldings, may, at first sight, give these works an
 “appearance of similarity to Roman Architecture, yet it is altogether
 “widely different. Authors are not agreed as to the origin of Saxon
 “Architecture; and it is equally difficult to trace the origin of the
 “Gothic style, which immediately succeeded it, and continued in
 “use for upwards of four hundred years after.

“SOME writers are of opinion, that the Saxons or Normans had it
 “from Persia, where there are still ancient remains of buildings,
 “bearing some of the massive features, characteristic of this style.—
 “The Saxons supported their arches, which separated the aisles, by a
 “single column, or rather pier, which was circular, octangular, or
 “hexangular, in the plan; whereas the Norman architects, supported
 “theirs in general with extremely massive piers, ornamented on their
 “sides and angles with upright small columns, and sometimes they
 “intermixed them with round piers like the Saxons, as may be seen
 “in Ely, Norwich, Peterborough, and other cathedrals. They
 “differed widely however from the Roman proportions, and the
 “Normans increased the difference.†—The semi-circular, and

* ALL the very little science of the kingdom in those times, and long after, was in the hands of the ecclesiastics; and it can be matter of no wonder, that Architecture should outrun her sister arts in the race of celebrity, when it is remembered, that to erect churches and monasteries was considered as the certain price of salvation.

† IF the opinions delivered in various places of this work, be in any degree accurate, respecting the characteristic distinctions of Saxon, Norman, and Gothic Architecture, this observation is not correct. It is over and over again admitted, that the *very early* Norman is not easy to be distinguished from the Saxon style, because the Normans were obliged to use Saxon workmen; but in every instance, where the difference can be ascertained, rotundity and simplicity are the distinctions of the Saxon; as angles, points, and ornaments, are of the Norman style. The Gothic is a still further improvement upon the Norman.

“ intersected arches, the zig-zag ornament, the billet moulding, “ hatched work, and various other species of ornament, were still “ continued; and though Architecture cannot be said to have “ improved on the Saxon manner, either in lightness or in execution, “ yet, in magnitude of design, the Normans far exceeded their “ predecessors. The buttress of this style varies extremely from the “ Gothic, which succeeded it. They are broad and flat on the surface, “ without ornament.—One of the characteristicks of the style, called “ Gothic, which succeeded, is the very prominent buttress, which “ mostly terminated in turrets or spires.

MANY authors of great celebrity, some of whom will be noticed in a subsequent part of this work, have written on ancient Architecture, and on the different periods of its introduction into this country, and the different stages of its improvement; but I am not conscious that any such have escaped my notice hitherto, who have employed their pens in merely tracing its origin, one excepted, whom I have selected (though guilty of some anachronism in point of order by so doing,) to grace the conclusion of my catalogue. I mean that “ Colossus of literature,” Warburton, bishop of Gloucester. He appears to me, though merely in the compass of a note on Pope, to have introduced not only the most rational account of the origin of Gothic Architecture, but to have said almost every thing that can be advanced with probability upon the subject; certainly every thing that observation suggests, and experience justifies. With him therefore, I shall conclude my selection of labors from the pens of others, on this intricate question. After having so done, little will be left for me to add on this division of the enquiry; and indeed, if there were more, I should consider the attempt as bordering on audacity. In the future parts of my investigation, I shall have to lament the want of so correct and luminous a guide.

“OUR Gothic ancestors,” says he, “had juster and manlier notions
“of magnificence on Greek and Roman ideas, than those minims
“of taste who profess to study only classic elegance: and because the
“thing does honor to the genius of those barbarians, I shall endeavour
“to explain it. All our ancient churches are called without distinction
“Gothic; but erroneously. They are of two sorts; the one built in
“the Saxon times, the other in the Norman. Several cathedral and
“*collegiate* churches of the first sort are yet remaining, either in whole
“or in part; of which this was the original: when the Saxon kings
“became Christians, their piety consisted in building churches at home,
“and performing pilgrimages abroad, especially to the Holy Land, and
“these spiritual exercises assisted and supported one another. For the
“most venerable, as well as most elegant, models of religious edifices
“were then in Palestine. From these our Saxon builders took the
“whole of their ideas; as may be seen by comparing the drawings,
“which travellers have given us of the churches yet standing in
“that country, with the Saxon remains of what we find at home;
“particularly in that sameness of style in the later religious edifices
“of the Knights Templars, (professedly built upon the model of
“the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem) with the earlier
“remains of our Saxon edifices.—Now the architecture of the Holy
“Land was Grecian, but greatly fallen from its ancient elegance.
“Our Saxon performance was indeed a bad copy of it; and as much
“inferior to the works of St. Helene and Justinian, as theirs were to the
“Grecian models they had followed: yet still the footsteps of ancient
“art appeared in the circular arches, the entire columns, the division
“of the entablature into a sort of architrave, frieze, and cornice, and
“a solidity equally diffused over the whole mass. This, by way of
“distinction, I would call the Saxon architecture.—But our Norman
“works had a very different original. When the Goths had conquered
“Spain, and the genial warmth of the climate, and the religion of the

“ old inhabitants had ripened their wits, and inflamed their mistaken
“ piety (both kept in exercise by the neighbourhood of the Saracens,
“ through emulation of their science, and aversion to their superstition)
“ they struck out a new species of Architecture, unknown to Greece
“ and Rome, upon original principles, and ideas much nobler than
“ what had given birth even to classical magnificence. For this
“ northern people having been accustomed, during the gloom of
“ paganism, to worship the Deity in groves (a practice common to all
“ nations) when their new religion required covered edifices, they
“ ingeniously projected to make them resemble groves, as nearly as
“ the distance of Architecture would permit; at once indulging their
“ old prejudices, and providing for their present conveniencies, by a
“ cool receptacle in a sultry climate: and with what skill and success
“ they executed the project, by the assistance of Saracen architects,
“ whose exotic style of building very luckily suited their purpose,
“ appears from hence, that no attentive observer ever viewed a regular
“ avenue of well grown trees, intermixing their branches over head,
“ but it presently put him in mind of the long visto through a Gothic
“ cathedral; or ever entered one of the larger and more elegant
“ edifices of this kind, but it represented to his imagination an avenue
“ of trees; and this alone is what can be truly called the Gothic style
“ of building. Under this idea, of so extraordinary a species of
“ Architecture, all the irregular transgressions against art, all the
“ monstrous offences against nature, disappear; every thing has its
“ reason, every thing is in order, and an harmonious whole arises from
“ the studious application of means, proper and proportioned to the
“ end. For could the arches be otherwise than pointed, when the
“ workmen were to imitate that curve, which branches of two opposite
“ trees make, by their intersection with one another; or could the
“ columns be otherwise than split into distinct shafts, when they were
“ to represent the stems of a clump of trees growing close together?

“ On the same principles they formed the spreading ramification of
 “ the stone work in the windows, and the stained glass in the
 “ interstices; the one to represent the branches, and the other the
 “ leaves, of an opening grove; and both concurred to preserve that
 “ gloomy light, which inspires religious reverence and dread. Lastly,
 “ we see the reason of their studied aversion to apparent solidity in
 “ these stupendous masses, deemed so absurd by men accustomed to
 “ the apparent, as well as real, strength of Grecian Architecture. Had
 “ it been only a wanton exercise of the artists skill, to shew he could
 “ give real strength without the appearance of any, we might, indeed,
 “ admire his superior science; but we must needs condemn his ill
 “ judgment. But, when one considers, that this surprizing lightness
 “ was necessary to complete the execution of his idea of a sylvan place
 “ of worship, one cannot sufficiently admire the ingenuity of the
 “ contrivance.—This, too, will account for the contrary qualities in,
 “ what I call, the Saxon Architecture. These artists copied, as has
 “ been said, from the churches in the Holy Land, which were built on
 “ the models of the Grecian Architecture, but corrupted by prevailing
 “ barbarism; and still further depraved by a religious idea. The first
 “ places of Christian worship were sepulchres and subterraneous
 “ caverns, low and heavy from necessity. When christianity became
 “ the religion of the state, and sumptuous temples began to be erected,
 “ they yet, in regard to the first pious ages, preserved the massive
 “ style; made still more venerable by the church of the holy sepulchre;
 “ where this style was, on a double account, followed and aggravated.
 “ Such, as is here described, was Gothic Architecture. And it would
 “ be no discredit to the warmest admirers of Jones and Palladio to
 “ acknowledge it hath its merit. They must, at least, confess it had
 “ a nobler birth, though an humbler fortune, than the Greek and
 “ Roman Architecture.”*

* MOR. Essays, 4th Epist.

IN those days of Roman valor, and of Roman virtue, when the proudest nations upon the globe, coveted the honor of being enrolled among the citizens of that imperial metropolis, every people, not so distinguished, were described under the common designation of Barbarians. The same practice continued long after that pre-eminence, which had given some pretence for this opprobrious term, was no longer to be found in Rome. Hence those warlike invaders, the Goths, were stigmatized by the degenerate and vanquished Romans with the name of Barbarians; and we of later days, partly because we are too apt to sanction by adoption, what has been reconciled by time and habit, and partly because we have annexed ideas to the term Barbarian, which it was not originally intended to convey, have been long habituated to consider the name of Goth, as nearly synonymous with that of savage; and the hardy tribes who bore it as men without morals, manners, skill, or enterprize.

THE effeminate Romans had long been an easy conquest to the first invader, and whatever people had seized the occasion, which this weakness presented, would have been branded with every insulting appellation. When pride is supported by firmness and valor, it is always attended by generosity; but impotent pride can handle no weapons but cowardly invective, and malignant satire. Such was the paltry vengeance which the successors of Pompey and of Cæsar, of Trajan and of Antonine, hurled at the head of Alaric and his conquering host. Taught to revere the very name of Roman, we too, with more prejudice than judgment, have adopted, as serious opinions, sarcasms, which were with them but the language of insulted pride, and disappointed passion. In a single science only, has one writer dared to rescue the Gothic name from the ignominy which was attached to it, but *that* in so masterly a manner, as not only to

produce conviction, but to leave us room for lamenting that a further enquiry into the pretensions of the Goths has not been prosecuted with equal ability.

HAVING given this unqualified assent to the learned prelate's positions, it is almost superfluous to premise that, in the progress of this enquiry, whenever it may be necessary to mention their origin, I shall consider, what we call, Saxon Architecture, but as a modification of Saracenic, and both but as a clumsy imitation of the Grecian; and that Norman and Gothic will be treated of as one and the same, only in different periods of improvement; founded on the same general principles, distinguished by nearly the same characteristic qualities, and derived from the same common source. If these conjectures be well founded, (and certainly no inconsiderable authority has been cited for their support) it reduces the science of ancient Architecture to a rational system, and brings the study of it within a moderate compass. What benefit may result from the success of such an attempt, has been partly pointed out in the prefatory address; the rest is left to the reader's imagination. If a *scintilla* of *antiquarianism* has entered into his composition, he will feel *all* its utility; if his pursuits be in the other walks of learning, he will not waste his time in such speculations; and if his occupations be only among "the busy hum of men," he would think me tedious, were I to enumerate but half the advantages I have pleasure in contemplating. Here then let us dismiss this part of our subject, and proceed to enquire at what periods each particular species of ancient Architecture was introduced into the island of Great Britain. On this view of the question, as also on the distinguishing characteristics, and appropriate ornaments, of the Saxon, Norman, and Gothic styles, two opinions, almost diametrically in opposition to each other, have been supported with equal energy, and in truth with equal

ingenuity. Some will have it that there are still remaining, many specimens in England of Saxon taste and grandeur; and that we are by no means indebted to their conquerors, the Normans, for the introduction of magnificence in our public buildings. Others have gone so far as to say, there is not the smallest remnant of a Saxon edifice to be discovered in the kingdom: that the public buildings of that people were equally without strength, and ornament: not composed of stone, or any durable material: but constructed merely, for the purposes of the day, of reeds, wood, and other perishable commodities; without beauty, elegance, or grandeur. Each of these positions has been supported by advocates of no mean authority, as well of our own country, as of others. These it must be our employment to examine progressively, in the succeeding pages; premising here only, that the great champion of this latter opinion is Mr. Somner, in his account of Canterbury cathedral; of the former, Mr. Bentham, in his excellent history of Ely. This writer says, that “not only the opinion, which “some authors have entertained of the Saxon churches and monasteries “being usually wooden fabricks, is erroneous, and has no foundation “in true history; but also, that *very elegant stone* buildings, supported “by pillars and arches, were *very common* with them.” Either of these extremes being adopted, establishes a doctrine which history seems to contradict, and which repeated observation gives me little inclination to admit. If the Saxons had no stone edifices, or those they had were so few, and so mean, that it is not probable any of them have remained to our time, it will follow, that we are indebted to the Normans for all the ancient Architecture in this kingdom, of which we have any knowledge. On the contrary, if *magnificent stone* buildings, supported by pillars and arches, were *very common* among our Saxon ancestors, it leads necessarily to this conclusion; that, their expertness being so great, to them may be attributed many of those buildings, whose origins happen not to have been ascertained; and

which, modern science has taught us to believe, nothing prior to Norman excellence could achieve. In either case, the consequence will be, that all those characteristical distinctions, with which laborious investigators of antiquity have amused themselves, are but so many idle theories, mere scientific play-things, in which there can be no certainty, and from which no useful deductions can be extracted.

GREAT, however, as is the reputation of the last-mentioned author, and, therefore, much as his opinions are entitled to respect, truth, in this, as in most cases, seems to lie between the two extremes, respectively adopted by these two gentlemen. That the Normans surpassed their predecessors, the Saxons, in their acquaintance with Architecture, as a science, seems not to be contested: as little are we authorized by history, to doubt the superiority of their execution, as of their theoretical knowledge. Indeed, we find that some of the Norman buildings so far exceeded, in magnificence, all Saxon efforts in masonry, that *the* founders of many of our largest edifices, after the conquest, were under a necessity of obtaining not only materials, but workmen also, from Normandy. This was practiced at the erection of Saint Paul's, in London, by Mauricius, then bishop, in 1087, as we are informed by Stow in his survey of London. His words are, "In the year 1087, this church of Saint Paul was burnt with fire, "and therewith most part of the citie; which fire began at the entrie "of the west-gate, and consumed the east-gate. Mauricius, then "bishop, therefore began the foundation of a new church of Saint "Paul, a worke that men of that time thought would never have "bcene finished, it was to them so wonderful for length and breadth; "and also the same was builded upon *arches or vaults of stone* for "defence of fire; which was a manner of worke *unknown* to the people "of this nation, and then *brought in by the French*, and the stone was "fetched from Cane in Normandy. This Mauricius deceased in the

“yare 1107.” Now this conveys no very slight intimation of inferiority in the state of Saxon Architecture. At the same time we have good reason, upon the credit of an author, to whom I am, in several parts of this work, much indebted, to believe that very stately and grand edifices of stone were by no means unknown among the Saxons; though perhaps neither so splendid, nor so numerous, as the taste, and affluence, of the Normans afterwards introduced. Bede expressly says, in his account of Edwin’s conversion to the Christian faith, that on the very spot where this prince was baptized, he built a stately and magnificent church *of stone*; in which a wooden one, that had been erected upon a very contracted scale, for the mere purpose of performing the baptismal ceremony, was included. That it was a large, and costly, fabrick, needs no other proof, than that it was six years of Edwin’s reign in building, and still remained to be finished by his successor. This author gives, at least, one more instance of a magnificent stone church being erected about the same period of the Saxon government, with that of Edwin’s at York; which is the church of Lincoln,* raised by Paulinus himself, in commemoration of the conversion of Blœcca, governor of that city.

EDDIUS, a contemporary writer with Bede, in his history of Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, enumerating the great and liberal acts which

* MR. GOUGH, in the last edition of Camden’s Britannia, writes thus: “Remigius, the last Bishop of Dorchester, and first of Lincoln, laid the foundations of this cathedral, in the year 1088, the second year of William Rufus, and it is probable he being a Norman, employed Norman masons.”—“The west front and two towers of the old church are yet remaining.”—Among other ornaments, “are semi-relievs, representing passages of scripture from the old testament. The difference of the workmanship, and the irregularity in which they are placed, make it probable they were brought from some old church, and placed in this front when it was built.” I confess it appears to me most probable they were part of the ornaments of the old church, originally erected here by Paulinus. From what other place were these ornaments so likely to be brought, and indeed in the scarcity of large stone buildings, which we are taught to believe there then was, from what other church could they be brought, or what other was there erected at that period, within any reasonable distance?

distinguished that magnificent prelate, mentions his building two very superb churches, and thus describes them. Of one he writes, “Polito lapide â fundamentis in terrâ usque ad summum ædificatum variis columnis & porticibus suffultam in altum erexit & consummavit.” And again, speaking of Hexham church, says, with a considerable degree of rapture, “Cujus profunditatem in terrâ cum domibus mirificè politis lapidibus fundatum, & super terram multiplicem domum, columnis variis & porticibus multis suffultam, mirabilique longitudine & altitudine murorum ornatam, & variis linearum enfractibus viarum aliquando sursum, aliquando deorsum, per cochleas circumductam, non est meæ parvitatî hoc sermone explicare, quod sanctus ipse præsul animarum, a spiritu Dei doctus, opere facere excogitavit; neque ullam domum aliam citra Alpes montes falem ædificatam audivimus.” Which words I would translate.—“Its deep foundations, with apartments therein, wonderfully contrived, of hewn stone, its variety of building above-ground, supported by divers columns and porticos, beside the extraordinary length and height of its walls, adorned with various carvings, its winding passages sometimes ascending, sometimes descending, by stairs, to different parts of this building, it is no easy matter for me to describe, so as to do justice to the work of this divine prelate, but there is no such building, that I have heard of, on this side the Alps.” Rich. Prior Hagust, who lived more than four centuries afterwards, is still more elaborate in his description of the church at Hexham, but concludes with the same expression, “that there was nothing like it on this side the Alps.” These, and innumerable other instances, from ancient writers, Mr. Bentham has cited in his History of Ely Cathedral, in support of his favorite opinion; and they undoubtedly do so far establish his position, as to prove, that stone churches, erected with pillars, and variously ornamented with carving, were by no means *unknown* to the Saxons;

but it should seem that the terms of astonishment, in which they are mentioned, imply the infrequency of them, and the difficulty of the undertaking. There must have been considerable novelty in the design, or great superiority in the execution, to have occasioned such extraordinary surprise. If magnificent stone churches, with pillars and porticos, had been more common, Eddius would have been less transported with admiration at that of Hexham, and less diffuse in his description.

THUS much it was necessary to premise respecting Saxon Architecture, and the differences of opinion among those who have treated the subject, in a general view, with great ability, before I came to the examination of that edifice, which is peculiarly the object of investigation in many of the succeeding pages.

THE collegiate church of Southwell, if I do not greatly err, presents to the view of the antiquary, and the architect, more decisive specimens of the three orders of Saxon, Norman, and Gothic Architecture, united in the same building, than any other single structure in this kingdom. Of the age and origin of the Gothic part there can be no doubt, as the testimonies to be produced are unequivocal: of that which is attributed to the Normans, there are strong proofs to be collected from history, as well as from the appearance of the fabric itself. That of which, if I be not deceived, the Saxons were the projectors, must rest on the authority of argument, of analogy, and of tradition. It shall be my purpose, therefore, to compare this with other buildings, which are reasonably supposed to have the honor of a Saxon origin, and if I succeed in carrying its antiquity to so remote a period, I shall not despair of fixing a criterion, which will, in almost every instance, ascertain, nearly at the first view, the age and Architecture of every ancient public edifice, of Saxon, Norman, or

Gothic origin, at least in this island, if not over the whole world. Nor is this so bold and comprehensive a project, or attended with such serious difficulties, as may be attributed to it by cursory observation. Every country has its own particular opinion of beauty and utility, whether suggested by nature and reason, adopted by accident, or imposed by caprice: once established, it pervades every art, and every occupation. It would surprise any one who has never reflected on this view of human nature, to have it pointed out to him, how great an uniformity runs through all the different productions of each particular country; I mean those of art. For instance, let me ask if, not only as great, but even *the same particular sort* of difference, be not visible by the eye of the most transient observer, between a French, and a Dutch house, as between a French, and a Dutch garment? * The same difference is observable between two ships of these nations; and not less in the modes of riding, walking, conversing, or writing, of the individuals who respectively compose them. In every act of a Frenchman, whether in erecting an edifice, contriving apparel, or haranguing an assembly, the prevailing impression upon his mind is ease, grace, elegance, and a certain *legereté*, which is characteristic of his nation. Let a Dutchman perform the same task, whether it be the first, or the last, of those enumerated, we shall have much sombrous grandeur, and ponderous magnificence; but he would consider lightness as fantastical, and elegance as frivolous. Consistent in our manners, as we now are, so doubtless have been our ancestors, from the time of peopling this habitable globe. They have differed in their ideas and their habits, as in their constitutions and their wants: in their constitutions and their wants, according to the climates they inhabited, and the productions

* THE national character of both these people, may probably undergo a considerable alteration from the influence of their late revolutions; but I here speak of them as they were distinguished by their manners previous to those events.

of their respective soils. The Saxons, rude, simple, and athletic, constructed their buildings upon the model of themselves: they were strong and durable, but uniformly simple. The Normans scarcely less athletic, but more polished, followed, in like manner, the bent of natural impulse; wherefore we find their buildings not inferior to the Saxon in massive strength, but much superior in decoration. Had their works of art in other sciences been handed down to us with as much fidelity, I have no doubt but we should have found the same characteristic distinctions prevail in every other instance, as well as in their Architectural achievements.

THE
CHURCH OF SOUTHWELL.

CHAP. II.

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THE more ancient part of Southwell church is of that species of architecture, which commonly passes under the denomination of Saxon, and has been generally reputed to be of that early date. A tradition has long prevailed in the place, that this part of the fabrick was built in the reign of Harold, the immediate predecessor of William the Norman. To what authority this conjecture owes its adoption, is beyond the reach of modern discovery; but there are not wanting some plausible reasons for believing that such an opinion may not be without a reasonable foundation. It must appear somewhat extraordinary that there should be no history, no legend, no written instrument of any kind, from which a probable account can be deduced, respecting the origin of this singular structure. The want of all authentic documents, however, being ascertained, we can only

collect from those general ideas of architecture, by which we appropriate to each particular age its own peculiar style, the period to which we may, with a reasonable degree of probability, attribute the erection of the building, which is about to become the subject of enquiry. Were we to form our judgment from appearances only, there are certainly stronger indications of a very remote antiquity in this church, than in most of those, which have generally gone under the denomination of Saxon. The windows, (except such as have evidently been altered according to the taste of later times) are circular, small, and unornamented. The columns, in this part of the edifice, are large, plain, and singularly massive, with capitals sparingly decorated; the arches simple, circular, and heavy; and the roof of timber. We might, perhaps, supported by the before-mentioned tradition of the place, decidedly pronounce this structure of Saxon original, were it not for the following reasons. At the west end of the church are two lofty towers, terminating in spires; and, at the east end of this more ancient part of it, between that and the modern choir, is another large tower: which mode of building is, by some, supposed to be of much later introduction. In the next place, there is, though of a clumsy kind, a spacious magnificence in the general design, which seems to partake more of Norman grandeur, than of Saxon simplicity. The third objection arises from the two spires, which are of wood covered with lead; and this mode of building is, on all hands, allowed to be of Norman extraction. From the last of these objections to the antiquity of this building, perhaps much objection is not to be apprehended; because there is little difficulty in supposing, that the spires might be a more modern addition to the towers, on which they are erected; and indeed their appearance fully justifies the conjecture. The first spire of wood covered with lead, in England, is said, by all the writers on architecture, to have been that of old Saint Paul's in London, which was completed about the

year 1220; at least, it is the first, the erection of which history has perpetuated. But whether these at Southwell were coeval with the towers, on which they are supported, or were added afterwards, in conformity with the taste of the times, it is not possible absolutely to determine. Where history is silent, we can only have recourse to comparison and analogy; but the utmost effort of reasoning cannot enable us to go beyond probable conjecture, and plausible conclusion. The Saxon edifices are supposed to have had, in general, an uniform, even roof, without towers, turrets, or pinnacles. If this were universally the case, Southwell church must not lay claim to so much antiquity, as has generally been attributed to it; but it may not be unreasonable to suppose that this style only obtained in their smaller, and more private, places of worship; while their cathedrals, and other large foundations of kings and bishops, made an exception to their general rule of building. If I be right in this conjecture, we may restore Southwell to its former supposed pre-eminence in antiquity. About the reign of King John, the circular arch, and massive column, began to be laid aside, and gave way to the slender pillar, and pointed arch; so that we can have no doubt but Southwell was of a date prior to that period; and, if we may judge from the unadorned simplicity of the whole, the small circular windows, clumsy arches, thick walls, heavy columns, timber roof, and other distinguishing characteristicks of its parts, so *much* prior, that I am disposed to support the tradition, and ascribe its origin to the reign of Harold. That the early style of the Normans in this kingdom, bore a *general* resemblance to that which predominated here before their arrival, I have not the least doubt, for the most obvious of reasons; viz, that they were obliged to employ the workmen of the country; but if we attentively observe the architecture of those buildings, which are known to bear that date, and compare them with this part of Southwell church, I am

much mistaken if we hesitate to give the palm of priority to this foundation of Paulinus.

THE timber roof has been noticed among the proofs which have been submitted, respecting the antiquity of this structure. This was done, because, though it must be allowed that a timber roof, in buildings of doubtful architecture, is not a *direct* proof of Saxon original, yet it operates obliquely as one, in those instances, at least, where additional circumstances concur to support such a claim. In other words, I believe, after the most diligent examination, that an arched, or vaulted, roof of stone is an almost unequivocal demonstration of a foundation subsequent to the time of the Norman conquest. Where ancient authors (I mean those who wrote before the conquest, or those who wrote soon after that event, of transactions which took place before it) mention arches, they seem only, by that expression, to intend simple arches, which spring from a single row of columns, and are intended merely for the support of a timber roof; not arches of that complicated kind, which themselves compose the roofs of Gothic buildings, and which are generally understood by the term, *vaultings*. There is an expression in a charter of King Edgar's, dated 974, which has been much relied on by the advocates of both sides of the question. That may, perhaps, appear not very decisive of *any* position, which is forced into the service of advancing *all*: but I shall beg leave to rely no less on it to prove my medium, than the historians of Canterbury and Ely have done to support their respective extremes. "All the monasteries of my realm," saith King Edgar, "to the sight are nothing but worm-eaten and rotten timber and boards." A proof, as Mr. Somner apprehends, that the fabricks of those times were made only of timber. That construction is rejected by Mr. Bentham, who supposes this expression to have a reference

only to the *roofs* of the monasteries; which were, in general, so much decayed, that the timbers were bare, and the beams rotten. From what has been before advanced, it sufficiently appears, that buildings of stone, with pillars and arches, were not unknown to the Saxons; and, therefore, that this expression of King Edgar's charter cannot reasonably be understood in that comprehensive sense, put upon it by the historian of Canterbury. If it should also have been successfully suggested, that Mr. Bentham is too sanguine in his support of the opposite extreme, giving to our Saxon ancestors more credit for scientific masonry, than they are entitled to, the position, at present contended for, will need little further argument for its establishment; which is, that the foundations of great magnitude, as cathedral, and collegiate churches; or of royal, or noble origin, as most of the greater monasteries before the conquest; were constructed with stone walls, pillars and arches; but that the architects of the age, in which they were erected, were not skilful enough to vault the roofs with stone; but made them of timber, and covered them with lead. Vaulted roofs were the improvement of the Normans, and, for some reigns, almost the only one. Of this second, or succeeding, species of architecture, viz, that of the Normans, the older part of Southwell church also exhibits, according to this mode of discrimination, a most decisive specimen. What has been hitherto remarked, respects only so much of the old church, as remains at this day, *with an exception of the side aisles*. Those I conceive to be pure Norman; and, I should guess, about the time of William Rufus, or, perhaps, somewhat later. This opinion is founded on the essential differences to be observed between the style of the nave, and that of these aisles. The former has a timber roof, as has before been mentioned, and arches, of a species of workmanship strongly indicative of ignorant times, and of the rudest notions of architecture. The latter have vaulted roofs, and those not

of the earliest introduction; but supported by ribs, which form angular compartments, at their mutual intersections in the center. There is a general similarity, as well as air of antiquity, through the whole of this part of the fabrick, which may betray a cursory observer not only into an opinion of its uniformity, but of its contemporaneous origin: if it be scanned however, by the discriminating eye of an architect, or an antiquary, there will be found, beside those already mentioned, many inferior points of difference and distinction. But, perhaps, the most universally unequivocal proof of the distant periods, to which these two parts of the nave, or, as it has usually been called at Southwell, the ante-choir, are to be respectively ascribed, is the unnatural union they present; the ribs, which sustain the vaultings of the aisles, springing from columns, obviously calculated for the exclusive support of other arches. Add to this, that, near the west end of the church, many of these ribs are made to spring from stones, inserted, in subversion of all taste and order, and in derangement of the original ornaments of the building. Thus much I found it necessary to remark, in order to prevent, by the exclusion of these aisles, objections that might have been raised *upon* them, to my general argument respecting the claim of a very considerable part, at least, of this church to a Saxon origin.

WHAT has been advanced concerning the characteristical distinctions in the modes of building, that prevailed before, and after, the advent of the Normans, is considerably confirmed by the description given of the abbey church at Westminster, built by King Edgar, and renewed by Edward the Confessor, as published by Camden in the year 1606, from an ancient manuscript, in these words:*

* WREN'S Parentalia, p. 296.

“ PRINCIPALIS arca domûs, altissimis erecta fornicibus quadrato
 “ opere, parique commissurâ circum volvitur; ambitus autem ipsius
 “ ædis duplici lapidum *arcu* ex utroque latere hinc inde fortitèr
 “ solidata operis compage clauditur. Porro crux templi quæ medium
 “ canentium Domino chorum ambiret, et sui gemina hinc inde
 “ sustentatione mediæ turris celsum apicem fulciret, humili primùm
 “ & robusto fornice simpliciter surgit; deinde cochleis multipliciter ex
 “ arte ascendentibus plurimis intumescit; deinceps vero simplici muro
 “ usque ad *tectum ligneum*, plumbo diligentèr vestitum, pervenit.”

To this description, from Camden, Wren adds the following account of this church. “To pass over,” says he, “the fabulous history that King Lucius first founded a little church here, A. D. 170, out of the ruins of the temple of Apollo, destroyed by an earthquake a little before: it is recorded, with better authority, that Sebert, king of the east Saxons, built a monastery here, and a church, in 605, which, being destroyed by the Danes, was, about 360 years after, repaired by the pious King Edgar. This, it is probable, was a strong good building, after the mode of that age, not much altered from the Roman. We have some examples of this ancient Saxon manner, which was with piers or round pillars, much stronger than Tuscan round-headed arches and windows; such was Winchester cathedral of old; and such, at this day, the royal chapel in the white tower of London; the chapel of Saint Crosses; the chapel of Christ church in Oxford, and divers others I need not name, built before the conquest; and such was the old part of Saint Paul’s, built in King Rufus’s time.” It is true, the dates, here attributed to some of those edifices, have, of late, been questioned; but, without dwelling on the merits of either side in this controversy, even if the instances produced by way of illustration should have been ever so successfully combated, that will not

invalidate the principal position; the elucidation of which was the only purpose of their introduction.

So much, then, respecting the general style of architecture before the conquest, and the deductions to be made from that, in favor of the antiquity of Southwell church. Let us now proceed to another argument; which, if it be well founded, will not only demonstrate the great antiquity of this building, but will even ascertain, with precision, the period, to which we are to look for its foundation.

THAT church bells, and towers to contain them, are nearly contemporaneous, as well the reason of the thing, as historical testimony, leaves little room to doubt; notwithstanding the arguments of a celebrated modern author, which will be hereafter more particularly noticed. Now we find in William of Malmsbury, and other writers, that Alfric, appointed to the See of York in 1023, gave two large bells to the church of Southwell. It appears, by the authority of Bede, Spelman's Gloss: and several instruments preserved in the monasticon, that this was exactly the period of bells becoming general in our churches. When I say, of their becoming *general*, I would be understood strictly; for, that some rich monasteries had them before that time, is certain. The most remarkable instance of the early introduction of them is that mentioned by Ingulphus, who writes thus, among the transactions of the reign of Edgar. "Fecit ipse (Egelricus, Abbot of Croyland, not Turketulus, as erroneously stated by Spelman, and, following his authority, by many subsequent authors) "feri duas magnas campanas, quas Bartholemæum & Bettelinum "cognominavit; & duas medias, quas Turketulum & Tatwinum "vocavit; & duas minores, quas Pegam & Begam appellavit. Fecerat "antea fieri Dominus Turketulus Abbas unam maximam campanam,

“nomine Guthlacum, quâ cum prædictis campanis composita fiebat
“mirabilis harmonia, nec erat tunc tanta consonantia campanarum
“in totâ Angliâ.” Spelman says the use of bells did not become
general in England till a subsequent period; at least, however, the
use of more than one in each place of religious concourse. From
the foregoing remarks, it should seem highly probable, that the
ancient tower of Southwell church (and, consequently, such other
parts as are coeval with that) was built for the reception of Alfric’s
fashionable, and no doubt, estimable present. The younger Harold
reigned in the year 1066, till which period this stately pile would,
probably, not receive its final completion; and, in whatever reign the
finishing hand was put to it, that would, most likely, be considered as
the æra, from which the foundation of the church would be dated. It
may, indeed, be argued, that the bells were given to ornament the
tower, and not the tower built to receive the bells. Allowing this
opinion its due weight, we may, perhaps, attribute some little
inaccuracy to the tradition, as now current; and apply it, rather to
the reign of the first Harold, which was in the year 1039, than to that
of the immediate predecessor of William the Norman. Where the
silence of authentic history occasions so much obscurity, tradition,
rendered respectable by its age, and credible by its uniformity, is
entitled to all reasonable support. The reigns of these two
monarchs are not so far distant, one from the other, but that the
opinion of the place may be applied to either, without any incongruity
or inconsistency; without lessening its probability, or contradicting
any authority.

BEFORE we quit this part of our subject, let us advert to some
circumstances, of inferior consequence indeed, but not altogether
unworthy of observation. At the vertex of every arch, in this ancient
part of the church, is a large, projecting, cylindrical stone, with a

round hole in its center, and a groove from that to the circumference. I believe this is a device singular in its kind, and, therefore, not to be accounted for by analogy or comparison. The purpose of these extraordinary projections seems to have been to support the arches, by the adventitious aid of a perpendicular rod, inserted in these holes: and the occasion of such a device must have proceeded only from the ignorance of the age, in which the church was erected. A strong presumptive proof surely, that it was built in the time of the Saxons, when the arts, bequeathed by the Romans, were declining, and those of the Normans were not yet introduced.

THE awkward, and ill-adapted alterations, which have been, in latter times, made in the windows of this building, is another circumstance, which should not pass unnoticed. At the west end, and in the most conspicuous places of the aisles, the Gothic window is introduced. That these are modern insertions, much posterior, in date, to the walls, which contain them, is manifest, from the botched appearance, which the irregular courses of the stone, and the mixture of old and new cement, give them. At what period this ridiculous alteration took place, neither record nor tradition inform us: we have only, therefore, to rejoice, that the Gothic frenzy, which possessed the author of it, has left some few of the windows in their original state: where they are so, I believe, this church exhibits the purest specimen of unadulterated Saxon architecture, in England.

THE foregoing observations receive no small confirmation from the general opinion, respecting the antiquity of a building, exactly similar, in its principal and characteristic ornaments, to the ancient part of Southwell church, and hitherto but little noticed by antiquaries, viz, Saint Peter's church at Oxford. The different parts of this edifice have been erected at very distant periods; but its earliest is the only

one, which we are here interested in examining. Underneath the church is a vault, supported (to the best of my recollection) by eight plain cylindrical columns. These, with their super-incumbent arches, bear the most exact resemblance in every particular, size excepted, to the ancient part of the body or ante-choir of Southwell church. One Grimbold, in the reign of Alfred, is said to have been the projector. Tradition has not dated the period of the super-structure with so much precision; but the opinion, which was transmitted to me by very intelligent persons, fixes it somewhat posterior to the conquest. It is worthy of observation that this part of Saint Peter's is exactly similar, even in its minutest ornaments, to the porch, which is attached to the north aisle of the body of Southwell church: the aisles I have before given my reasons for believing to be subsequent to the Norman advent. The remarkable coincidence, therefore, of every tradition, as well as of every reasonable conjecture, respecting these two very ancient and similar edifices, seems to confer, on both of them, a mutuality of illustration.

WERE the reader to be troubled with an enumeration of all the buildings, which have been examined, for the purpose of ascertaining the different ages, to which the various parts of the structure, now under consideration, may be reasonably attributed, and of fixing upon some general rule for judging of others, the arguments arising from comparison would be found to place the very high antiquity of Southwell church beyond the reach of doubt. To notice a few of them will be sufficient for our present purpose.

DURING the Saxon heptarchy, there is no doubt but the kings of Kent were, relatively considered, very powerful monarchs. Indeed about the year 600, we find all the other Saxon Kings brought into submission to Ethelbert, the Kentish monarch. From that time to

the conquest this part of the kingdom seems to have been the seat of temporal grandeur, as well as ecclesiastical power, comprising within it the metropolitanical See. Here, therefore, we are most likely to meet with numerous specimens of Saxon architecture, if indeed many such do still remain. The south end of the cross aisle of the cathedral of Canterbury bears a most striking resemblance to that of Southwell church, which has been treated of as Saxon, and has been attributed to the reign of the first Harold. Now this very part of Canterbury cathedral, we are told by all the historians* of that city, was built by Bishop Egelnoth about 1038; the very period when Harold reigned. The cathedral of Rochester presents us with another argument, † arising from comparison. The west front of this church, and no inconsiderable portion of the body, are said to be part of the original building: Bishop Gundulph was the founder, and it was built about the time of the conquest, probably by the workmen of the country, and certainly upon Saxon principles. It much resembles the oldest part of Southwell church, in some of its columns, and in many of its arches; and, what makes it a more striking and remarkable proof of the opinion, which it is mentioned here for the purpose of illustrating, is, that in those parts, which may reasonably be supposed to have been *last* finished, (viz, after the Norman advent) many ornaments are introduced similar to those in the aisles of Southwell, which are almost unquestionably of Norman design.

THE old tower of Chilham castle near Canterbury, the only part which is now remaining of that once stupendous pile, is universally ‡

* SOMNER'S Antiq. Camden's Brit. and Gough's Addit.

† THE same may be said of the old church at Dover, and also of that at Dunstable, the latter of which plainly shews the introduction of Norman ornaments upon Saxon designs.

‡ VID. Gough's Camden, and the authorities there cited.

allowed to have been built much prior to the time of the Normans, indeed, so much prior, that the other parts of the castle were destroyed by the Danes, in the reign of Wilfrid, king of Kent. Now, making all reasonable allowances for the usual, and indeed necessary, differences between a place of public worship, and a castle, designed partly for a habitation, and partly for a defence to the country, scarcely any one, who has carefully examined this ancient tower of Chilham, can ever again hesitate to pronounce whether a building be of Saxon, or of Norman original. There is such an uniform and undeviating system of rotundity pervading every thing belonging to the Saxons, that no correct eye can confound their work with the angular pillars, sharp edged vaultings, and pointed decorations of the Norman builders.*

LET it be here observed, once for all, that the species of ornament, which goes under the denomination of *zig-zag*, abounds in all those buildings, that are known to have been erected soon after the conquest; insomuch, as to form one of the most decisive characteristicks of Norman architecture. In those structures, which have the reputation of an origin antecedent to that period, this sort of decoration is seldom to be found; and where it does appear, never in equal profusion. Here and there, indeed, something of the kind may occur; but, at most, very sparingly.† This observation is strikingly

* A reference to the engravings in Gough's edition of Camden, under the article, *RUTLANDSHIRE*, will exhibit striking specimens of similarity, between the old church of Tickencote in that county, and several parts of Southwell cathedral; but the similarity is with the early Norman parts; and therefore I am under a necessity of dissenting from the learned editor of that work, who professes to follow the authority of Stukely, in attributing its erection to a Saxon reign. There appears to have been a great profusion of windows, a frequent repetition of angular ornaments, and a general lightness of style, which are entirely incompatible with Saxon gloom, and Saxon ignorance.

† IN Wilkins's excellent treatise on Saxon and Norman architecture, before referred to, in the first chapter of this work, there appears not to be sufficient discrimination made between the Saxon and the Norman style of *ornamenting* buildings. It is in several places more particularly pointed out, in what

exemplified in all the buildings, which have been the subject of comparison in the few preceding pages; and in determining the antiquity of others, will be found of greater use and moment than may, at first sight, be apprehended. Let us now proceed to examine the choir, or east end of the church.

To the Norman order of architecture (which it seems did not differ materially, at first, from the Saxon, in any of its most essential characteristic features; but was equally distinguished by circular arches, and massive pillars, with, perhaps, some little addition of sculpture, and, in some instances, vaulted roofs) succeeded, what is generally understood, though some think improperly, by the denomination of Gothic: because, as Wren writes, “the Goths were rather the “destroyers, than inventors of arts.” This style of building seems to have been introduced before the reign of King John, and to have prevailed very generally in that of Henry III. It continued, with little variation, till the time of Edward III; when a considerable alteration took place in the construction of the pillars and roofs. The latter began to be divided into several compartments, by kinds of ribs, meeting in the center of the arch, and forming triangular spaces on each side. These ribs, and the junctions of them, were more or less ornamented, according to the affluence of the builder, the skill of the architect, the vicinity of the place to the seats of fashion and improvement, either metropolis of the kingdom, (London, or York,) and to the purposes of the building. The columns now began to take the form of a cluster of small pillars, closely united, and forming one compact and solid, but slender and elegant support.

the difference consists, and how it originated; but it is necessary *here* to observe, that some of the specimens, exhibited by Mr. Wilkins as Saxon, appear to be *decidedly Norman, from the great profusion of this zig-zag moulding.* Nearly all the genuine unadulterated Saxon ornaments, I believe to have been circular; those of the Normans, angular.

About this period, and before any great alteration began to prevail in the mode of constructing the windows, we might, from the general style of this fabrick, if we wanted other evidence, pronounce the choir of Southwell church to have been erected; but this matter is placed beyond a doubt by the licence* of the King (Edward III) in the eleventh year of his reign, to the Chapter, for the getting of stones from a quarry in his forest of Shirewood, for the building of their church.

THE heads of Edward III, and his queen, as also that of the Black Prince, support the ribs or springs of several arches in the choir. The prince's head, crowned with his three feathers, is particularly conspicuous on the north side; and over the center arch on the south side, are the feathers only, neatly cut in the stone. By these numerous compliments to the prince, we may presume this part was erected just at that point of time, when, by his conquest in France, he was in the zenith of his popularity.

IN conformity with the general taste of that age, the windows are narrow, pointed, unornamented, and without any division by stone guts or mullions. It was not till late in this reign, or in the next, that the fashion became general of having the windows much larger, less pointed, and divided into several lights by small stone pillars, terminating in various ramifications within the arch; beautified and diversified, as accident influenced, or design dictated.

OF this later species of architecture, Southwell church exhibits more specimens than one, and those not inelegant; viz. the chapter-house; and the screen, which divides the choir from the western part of the church. These are of the same style, and, to all appearance,

* VID. Appendix No. I, from the *Regestrum Album* of the Chapter of Southwell.

of the same age; doubtless much posterior, in date, to the rest of the Gothic work in this church. The chapter-house is a detached, octagonal building, connected, by a cloyster, with the north aisle of the choir. To what reign its erection ought to be attributed, we may, perhaps, void as we are of any thing like a record on the subject, find it no easy matter to determine. The outside does not boast a profusion of ornament, though its battlement, and buttresses, are light and well finished, and in a good taste. The inside is much superior. The arch of entrance has arrested the admiration of many travellers; who, in so plain, and even clumsy, a building, as the major part of this church presents to the view, could form no expectation of meeting with a piece of sculpture, exceeding, in elegance of design, and correctness of execution, almost every thing of a similar kind in this kingdom.* This chapter-house is, in a general sense, built upon the model of that at York, but, in many particulars, differs from it materially. The arch, of which I have been treating, is in the same style, but very superior in beauty and workmanship. The roof is of stone, not very richly ornamented, but light and simple, and rather elegant. The stalls, which are niches in the wall, and extend quite round the room, are divided, each from the contiguous one, by a small, plain, cylindrical column. These columns support the arched heads of the stalls; all of which are pointed, and much decorated with sculpture, of a singular and curious, but not very striking, or highly finished kind. Of the devices on these stalls, it is somewhat remarkable, considering they are very numerous, that no two bear the smallest resemblance to each other. The windows are of the later Gothic; large, light, not much pointed at the vertex, and divided

* DR. DRUMMOND, the late Archbishop of York, whose taste and science in architecture, are incontestibly established, by the buildings he erected at Bishopthorpe, preferred the arch, which is the present subject of observation, to every thing of the kind in the kingdom; and even went so far as to say, he had scarcely seen it surpassed in Italy.

into three compartments by stone mullions. It is to be lamented, that the painted glass, which once adorned them, is almost wholly destroyed; the few mutilated fragments that remain, being insufficient for any purposes of illustration, respecting the date of the building, or the benefactors to its foundation. The origin of the screen is involved in the same obscurity; but as the style is nearly, if not altogether similar, it may reasonably be attributed to the same period.

It is observable in the choir of this church, the only part, the date of which can be incontrovertibly ascertained, that the fashionable style of architecture was unknown at Southwell for full half a century after it had prevailed in most other parts of the kingdom: for the more ornamented Gothic had been long introduced, and, indeed, was become very general in public buildings, at the time this part of Southwell church was erected. The choir, which was indisputably completed in the reign of Edward III, is of the style of Edward I; so the chapter-house, which has all the appearance of being built much subsequent to the contiguous parts of the church, is of the style of Edward III, excepting indeed, the arch at the entrance, and that carries with it a still more modern appearance. If we affix to this building an origin, as much subsequent to the introduction of that style, of which it bears the appearance, as the choir itself is after that age, whose features predominate in it, we must place the chapter-house in the reign of Richard II. Should this conjecture meet with no material objection, it will receive some confirmation from a prevalent tradition, respecting one of the ornaments of the arch, at the entrance into the cloyster, which leads to the place we are examining. The ornament I mean, is the head of a bishop. On what foundation does not appear, but this has always been supposed, at Southwell, to be a representation of Archbishop Neville. Neville, we know, filled the See of York in the reign of Richard; to which period

the building of the chapter-house has been attributed. Giving credit, therefore, to the testimony of tradition, these facts seem to confer some reciprocity of illustration on each other, and give us ground to conclude, that this chapter-house was built, perhaps, by the bounty, at least under the sanction, of this prelate. Another circumstance, not to be omitted, is, that on the opposite side of the arch to the archbishop, is the head of a king, very like the engraving of King Richard in Rapin's History of England; and in the window over this arch, till of late years, was the portraiture of John Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and uncle to that king, on a square of glass, well painted, and in good preservation.

AFTER all, this part of our subject ought to convince us how fallacious are many of those data, from which some modern antiquaries have imagined they could *precisely* ascertain the origin of every ancient building since the conquest. In Mr. Bentham's justly admired book, which contains almost the substance of whatever has been written on the subject, we find the following passage, p. 39.

“ DURING the whole reign of Henry III, the fashionable pillars
“ to our churches were of Purbec marble, very slender and round,
“ encompassed with marble shafts, a little detached, so as to make
“ them appear of a proportionable thickness; these shafts had each of
“ them *a capital richly adorned with foliage*, which, together in a cluster,
“ formed one elegant capital for the whole pillar. This form, though
“ graceful to the eye, was attended with an inconvenience, perhaps,
“ not apprehended at first; for the shafts, designed chiefly for orna-
“ ment, *consisting of long pieces, cut out horizontally from the quarry,*
“ *when placed in a perpendicular situation, were apt to split and break;*
“ which probably occasioned this manner to be laid aside in the next
“ century. The windows of that age also, were long, narrow, sharp

“pointed, and usually decorated on the inside and outside with
“small marble shafts.”

AFTER this minute discussion, and peremptory decision on the origin, progress, and decay, of this species of architecture, what explorer of antiquity would hesitate, wherever he found these *round, slender, marble shafts, adorned with a capital of foliage, and cut horizontally from the quarry*, to determine, with promptitude, the exact age of the building; at least to decide, that it was not erected subsequent to the century in which Henry III reigned? That century ended with the year 1300, and Richard II did not enter upon his reign till 1377. Unfortunately for the credit of the observation, however, in this very chapter-house of Southwell, and in the cloyster leading to it, (evidently of the same date) which *certainly* were not built before the reign of Richard, but might *possibly* be erected long after, we find these *marble shafts, long, slender, round; cut horizontally from the quarry*, and in consequence, *shivered, split, and broken*.

As to the beautiful arch itself, which forms the approach into the chapter-house, there is good reason for considering it as a very modern insertion; indeed not a few of the ornaments in this part of the church, have been generally so esteemed by antiquaries. The situation of it is singular: it is not in the center of a side of this octagonal room, but close to one of the angles; which gives its position so unnatural an appearance, as nothing, but the opinion of its having been inserted since the contiguous walls were built, can reconcile. Add to this, that the sculpture is infinitely finer, and more delicate, than any near it; and, though it bear a *general* resemblance to the other parts of the surrounding structure, there are many *particulars*, which admit of considerable discrimination; some few are easily discernable by the eye, which it is scarcely possible for the pen to describe; but

there is one, not of this class, which, with builders, has no small weight; viz. that the courses of the stone, which surround this arch, by no means correspond with those of the contiguous walls, and sides of the room. Even were the opinion of the author more decided on this subject than it is, or of greater weight than I am justified in supposing it to be, it would be his duty nevertheless to offer it with that diffidence, which the uncertainty of such pursuits ought always to suggest to the projector of a new discovery. The most mature reflection has inclined me to attribute this curious arch to the reign of one of the last Henries; and, if I were to indulge conjecture any further, it would be, in supposing it the gift, and design, of the magnificent Wolsey; who is generally believed to have bestowed on Southwell, some splendid proofs of his exquisite taste and liberality, in the seasons of his retirement from the business of the state. The great profusion of ornament about it, though designed, indeed, with peculiar taste, and executed with uncommon nicety, does not seem appropriate to any other period, than that which immediately preceded the disuse of the Gothic style; at which time we know, by many specimens now extant, a vast accumulation of decoration, exquisitely chiselled, was the characteristick of the age.

THERE may perhaps, to the rigid antiquary, in this inquiry into the origin and history of the church of Southwell, appear sometimes too great an inclination to indulge conjecture and speculation. To this accusation, if it be made, let me at least plead two apologies. First, that every possible diligence has been used in searching for records; and that recourse is no where had to inferior authority, but where written evidence fails, and yet it is necessary to insert the most probable account, for the purpose of connecting facts, and making the general history as intelligible and complete, as the circumstances will allow. Secondly, that, in *almost* every instance the conjectural

positions are supported by the tradition of the place; are rendered respectable by their age, and uniformity; and are sanctioned by the concurring testimonies, and opinions, of abler judges.

TRADITION is no doubt, at all times, suspicious evidence; but, if it be *ever* entitled to respect, it is more than commonly so in the subject of our present inquiry. The town of Southwell, situate at a considerable distance from any passage of importance between the most frequented parts of the kingdom, was hardly known by name, for some centuries, but to those, whose connexions, or whose preferments, brought them acquainted with it. Till within the last thirty years, there was no turnpike road *to* it in any direction, little or no passage *through* it, and no trade *within* it, except for the supply of its own inhabitants. Thus, in a great degree, denied access to all the rest of the world, the people of Southwell lived a distinct and separate society from the kingdom in general; retaining their own particular manners, untainted by the fashions or caprices of the surrounding multitude. Traditions were delivered down, through successive generations, pure and unadulterated by the speculations of the learned, or the imaginary discoveries of antiquaries, and historians. The only interruption to this general calm was during the civil wars of the last century; and being then but transient and accidental, its impression was inconsiderable on the manners of the people; and while it tended, in some degree, to enrich, it did not derange or confuse the traditional knowledge of the place.

THE late Mr. Essex, of Cambridge, whose taste and science on the subject of Gothic architecture are well known, left behind him some few observations on Southwell church;* all of them, in a general view, tending to confirm the conjectures here made, respecting the relative

* IN the possession of Mr. Kerrich, late of Magd. Coll. Cambridge.

antiquity of its several parts. He seems, indeed, to have doubted whether the choir were not of an earlier date than has here been attributed to it; but he appears to have examined it very cursorily, and therefore, for the reasons before given, we may be better justified in refusing our assent to the authority of his opinion.

WHEN Bishop Warburton had in contemplation his notes on Pope's Epistles, and was drawing up those very remarks on ancient architecture, which have been introduced in an early part of this volume, he took a journey, in company with his friend Allen,* to Southwell, for the purpose of examining its cathedral, which had been represented to him, as affording the purest specimen of the Saxon style to be found in this island. The observations of these judicious travellers, have been communicated to me by a friend who attended them. † From his account of their conversation, it appears clearly that they thought the west end of the church had an indisputable claim to an origin previous to the conquest; but that there were, in many parts of it, strong appearances of Norman additions, and even those of very different periods. The Gothic part of the church, having nothing in it but what is common to that order, occupied but little of their observation, and in that little, it seems there was nothing new. ‡

THE celebrated Mr. Warton, in his observations upon Spencer, has taken occasion, in a note, to treat of architecture in general, and

* IMMORTALIZED by Pope.

† THE REV. E. Crofts, at that time one of the vicars of the church, and lately rector of Brandon, in the county of Suffolk.

‡ IT was in the course of this journey that Warburton met with the ingenious John Gilbert Cooper, the author of the life of Socrates, who lived near Southwell. This interview gave occasion to the attack, which Cooper afterwards made on Warburton, in one of the notes to his life of Socrates; and which Warburton retorted, with equal poignancy, and more than equal acrimony, on Cooper, in one of his notes on Pope.

particularly of the introduction, into this kingdom, of that kind, which is distinguished by the appellation of Gothic. In marking the progress of improvement in this art, he divides it into four periods, to each of which he has given a denomination somewhat novel. As every thing, which falls from the pen of such an author, is entitled to respect; and as some of his positions may seem to militate against what has been advanced, in the way of conjecture, about the different parts of Southwell church, and the respective periods in which they are supposed to have been built; it cannot be considered as irrelevant to the present inquiry, to meet his opinions with a fair discussion.

“THE Normans,” says Mr. Warton, “at the conquest, introduced arts and civility. The churches, before this, were of timber, or otherwise of very mean construction.”

IN addition to what has already been advanced on this part of our subject, the account, which Ingulphus gives of the building of the famous abbey of Croyland, in the county of Lincoln, seems a full confirmation of the position before us. That elegance and ornament were introduced by the Normans, has been already conceded; but that the churches and religious houses of the Saxons were large and commodious, and not unfrequently erected of stone, even where the situation was unfavorable to masonry, is placed beyond a doubt, by the whole of that writer's account. Indeed, from some parts of his history, we may collect, that, so early as his time, which was in the ninth century, stone buildings were thought necessary, though obtained at any price of labor, and even of expence. I shall be copious in my extracts from these annals, for many reasons; principally because Ingulphus writes with more perspicuity than most of the Monkish authors, and his work is in the possession of only few persons; and also, because his authority

seems to settle, beyond a doubt, a very material, and very disputed point, in the history of architecture. Enumerating the contributors to the erection of that monastery, he writes thus:

“ Et quia Palustris hujus Croýland (ut ipsum nomen indicat, nam
 “ crudam terram & cœnosam significat) lapideam molem sustinere
 “ non poterat, Rex Ethelbaldus ingentes palos quercinos & aleinos
 “ innumeræ multitudinis humi defigi fecit, duramque terram novem
 “ milliariis per aquam de Uplandâ, id est de superiori terrâ, scaphis
 “ deferri, et paludibus commiseri jussit; & sic lapideam, quia
 “ sanctus Guthlaeus prius oratorio contentus erat *ligno*, basilicam
 “ cœpit & consummavit, cœnobium condidit, ornamentis & fundis,
 “ aliisque divitis locum illum ditavit, eundemque locum in totâ vitâ
 “ suâ tenerrimè dilexit.” And again, “ Inelytus Rex Edredus Car-
 “ pentarios ac Cœmentarios conduceens, deque proprâ familiâ quendam
 “ Clericum, nomine Egelricum, cognatum Domini Turketuli Abbatis,
 “ operariis & universo loco præficiens, ligna & lapides de proximis
 “ sylvis & lapidicinis, Regali manerio de Castre pertinentibus, in omni
 “ copiâ assignavit. Qui diligentissimè operi invicto insistens animo,
 “ in brevi ecclesiâ fabricatâ, claustroque, cum cœteris necessariis officii-
 “ nis ædificato, et gratias a Rege, et benedictionem a Domino meruit
 “ pro labore.” Recording the subsequent transactions of the house,
 after the death of the Abbot Turketulus,* he writes, “ Post obitum
 * Turketuli Abbatis fecit ipse (Egelricus) *plurima* pulcherrimæque
 “ œdificia, scilicet infirmitorium longitudine & latitudine decentissi-
 “ mum de trabibus & tabulis opere carpentario merabiliter contextum
 “ & compaginatum. Capellam simili opere, cum balneatorio ac
 “ aliis necessariis. Omnia de lignis levigatis facta sunt, quia molem
 “ lapideam fundamentatum debile ferre non suffecit, plumboque cooperta.

* ANNO 875.

“Hæc omnia, præter Abbatis cameram & capellam quæ Dominus
 “Turketulus *lupidea* fecerat, crant ligna plunbo tecta.”*

MR. WARTON then proceeds to observe that the Norman architecture differed, in no respect, from that of the conquered people, except in magnificence. “The national architecture,” continues he, “of our Saxon ancestors was only extended in its proportions, and “enlarged in its scale, by the Normans.”

It has been admitted that the style of architecture immediately after the Norman advent, and before the fashions and manners of the conquerors had become prevalent, bore, at least, a general resemblance to that of the Saxons, in its most essential qualities; but it can scarcely be admitted that Malmsbury means no more, than that William had introduced a more enlarged scale, when he says, speaking of that reign, “Videas ubique in villis ecclesias, in vicis & urbibus Monasteria *novo* “*ædificandi genere* exsurgere.” The word *genus*, usually admits of a more comprehensive interpretation; and, as there seems no special reason for confining it, in this instance, within narrower limits, a liberal construction appears more consistent with the evidence of history, and the result of observation. Whether the attempt, which has already been made, in the course of this inquiry, to mark the line of discrimination, between the latter Saxon, and the early Norman architecture, may have been attended with success, must be submitted to the reader’s determination.

* EVERY monastery had its annalist in early times, and these Monkish records are the sole foundation of all ancient English history, Ingulphus filled that office in the Abbey of Croyland. His testimony to a point (at that time of small importance) must surely be impartial, and if impartial, certainly decisive. Might not the passages, then, here extracted, if duly considered, have for ever set at rest this disputed question respecting Saxon proficiency?

“THE style which succeeded to this,” proceeds our author, “was the Gothic, not the *absolute* Gothic, but a sort of *Gothic Saxon*, in which the pure Saxon began to receive some tincture of the Saracen fashion. In this, the massy, rotund column became split into a cluster of agglomerated *pilasters*, preserving a base and capital, as before; and the short, round-headed window was lengthened into a narrow, oblong form, with a pointed top, in every respect much in the shape of a lancet; often decorated in the inside, with slender pillars, &c. This style commenced about 1200.” The object of these pages is not to criticise, with minute observation, every author on the subject of ancient architecture; but merely to accumulate the opinions of eminent men and to form some general rule for determining the ages of antique edifices, by the respective styles of building, which appear to have characterized different periods: waving, therefore, every objection to the word *pilaster*, which does not strictly signify what the author intended by it, as also to some other expressions of inferior importance, let us examine the principal position with the attention it deserves, as applied to our present subject of investigation. Southwell choir answers, with an unusual degree of exactness, to this description of, what Mr. Warton calls, the “Gothic Saxon.” This part of the church we have seen, was certainly erected after the year 1330: that circumstance however, does not affect his general position, with respect to the time of this style prevailing; since the distance of Southwell from either metropolis, has been before given, as a sufficient reason for its being considerably less rapid in improvement, and advanced in fashion. Neither would I quarrel with the phrase, *Gothic Saxon*. Each style of building must have a name to distinguish it from its proximate species, in order to give precision to our ideas; and, if that be but obtained, the combination of letters, by which it is denominated, can be but of inferior moment. However, lest the

term *Gothic Saxon*, should mislead any one into an opinion, that the early Gothic partook, in any degree, or was a mere improvement, of the Saxon, it may be necessary to guard against such a consequence. In every respect it was wholly different. Although it be true, that we sometimes meet with a window, or door, of the early Gothic style placed close by the side of a Saxon one, in many of our ancient churches, and other public buildings, which, for any thing that can be now ascertained, may have been built at times not very distant, one from the other; still, each will have its own proper ornaments; neither the Gothic being decorated with a front of zig-zag, nor the Saxon with small, light pillars. The plain, massive column, we may be assured, did not *degenerate*, by the irregular suggestions, or capricious sallies, of fancy, into a cluster of agglomerated shafts; but this species of pillar was a new introduction, totally different in its principle, and construction; different in its base, and capital; and extremely different in its effect. The sole objects of the Saxon manner of building were simplicity and strength; or, perhaps, I ought rather to say, these were all the state of science, in their time, enabled that people to attempt: elevation, ornament, and lightness, were the predominating features of, even the earliest, Gothic. Upon this ground we may recollect, that the introduction of spires and pinnacles have been before accounted for, among the decorations of these edifices. The difference of their respective originals is a decisive proof of their being distinct, in every point of view; and not, that one is a melioration of the other.

THE "*absolute Gothic*," is the denomination, under which the next improvement of architecture is classed by Mr. Warton. "This," says he, "is free from all mixture of Saxon, and has, as a never-failing criterion of distinction, the ramified window. This began after the year 1300. Beside the alteration in the windows, fantastic capitals

“to the columns, and more ornament, in the vaulting and other parts, “was introduced.” That the ramified window took place, with other improvements, about the time specified, will readily be admitted; but if that style, to which this succeeded, had no mixture of Saxon, as has been contended, it will be difficult to assign a reason for the particular kind of superiority, which this claims by the word *absolute*.

THE “*ornamental Gothic*” comes next in order, according to this author’s titles of discrimination. By this term he explains himself to mean, “that improved state of architecture, which the structures of the reigns of Henry V and VI exhibited.”

THE fourth, and last, which he enumerates, is the “*florid Gothic*.” This is what began to prevail in the reign of Henry VII, and continued to that of Elizabeth; when Gothic architecture seems to have fallen into general disuse, or, in his words, “to have expired.”

THE application of these two last titles may be accepted without objection. That the styles, they are intended to illustrate, differed as much from each other, as from those which preceded them, is uncontroverted; and the terms, *ornamented* and *florid*, may possibly be as expressive of that difference, as any other the language might afford. Let us, however, attend Mr. Warton through the recapitulations of his positions, and observe if he do not contradict himself. He says, he cannot “more clearlyre capitulate, or illustrate, what he has said, than “by observing, that the seals of our English monarchs, from the reign “of Henry III, display the taste of architecture, which respectively “prevailed under several subsequent reigns; and consequently “convey, as at one comprehensive view, the series of its successive “revolutions: insomuch, that, if no real models remained, they would “be sufficient to shew the modes and alterations of buildings in “be suu...

“ England. In these each King is represented sitting enshrined amid
 “ a sumptuous pile of architecture. Henry III, 1259, appears seated
 “ amidst an assemblage of arches of the round, Saxon form. So are
 “ his successors, Edward I and II. Edward III, 1330, is the first;
 “ whose seal exhibits pointed Saracen arches; but those of his first
 “ seal, at least, are extremely simple. In the seals of Richard II,
 “ 1378, and his successor Henry IV, we find Gothic arches of a more
 “ complicated construction. At length the seal of Henry V, 1412, is
 “ adorned with a still more artificial fabrick. And, lastly, in the seals
 “ of Edward V, Richard III, and Henry VII, we discern a more
 “ open, and less pointed, Gothic.”

I CONFESS myself much at a loss to reconcile this illustration, with the former positions respecting the introduction of Gothic architecture. If Edward II, who reigned till 1327, be represented “amid an assemblage of round Saxon arches,” I cannot discover how that is a confirmation of the former assertion, “that the round Saxon arch yielded to the introduction of the Gothic style, so early as the year 1200.” The same observation may be applied to the architecture displayed on most of the other seals, which Mr. Warton assumes to be illustrative of the styles, which prevailed at the times of their respective impressions. That they will assist in conveying a description of the successive revolutions in this science, may be a correct position; but to prove that they are not demonstrative of the particular modes of building prevailing in those reigns, of which they are the seals, we have only to produce this author to combat with himself; that is, we have only to read his *argument*, in order to do away the force of his *illustration*. “I subjoin,” proceeds he, “some general observations. The towers in Saxon cathedrals were not always intended for bells. They were calculated to produce the effect of the louver, or open lanthorn, in the inside; and, on this account,

“ were originally continued open, almost to the covering.” Amidst such a variety of opinions, it is difficult to ascertain the prevalence of towers among the Saxons; or, if there were any, the application of them. One author tells us the Saxon edifices were low and even, without towers; another says, they were obliged to raise towers when bells came into fashion, for the purpose of hanging them; a third acknowledges they had towers; but, not to be outdone in originality of idea, finds a very different purpose for them. If the Saxon origin, attributed to Southwell, have a reasonable foundation in history, and analogy, it will, as far as a single instance goes, operate as a comment on this contrariety of opinions. Thus much, at least, is surely evident; that, for whatever purpose the tower of Southwell church might be erected, it could not be for giving light to the inside of the church; inasmuch as its small Saxon windows do not admit more than is sufficient for the upper part of it, where the bells are now placed. It has been recently observed, and is universally acknowledged, that ornament was the least consideration in Saxon architecture. This excludes the possibility of towers having been erected for *that* purpose: the circumstance which renders it improbable that the tower of Southwell was intended for the use, to which Mr. Warton attributes such erections, is applicable to most others of a truly Saxon origin: it will follow therefore, that what Mr. Bentham says, comes nearest the truth, “ that bells, no doubt, *at first* suggested the necessity “ of towers, which promising something to the imagination noble and “ extraordinary, they were *afterwards* built, not only for necessary use, “ but for symmetry and ornament in different parts of the fabrick.”

HAVING now gone through such observations upon the most eminent of our modern authors, as seemed necessary to rescue my opinions, where I have ventured to differ, from the imputation of temerity; or, at least, to shew, that, even where those authors are

generally correct in the systems they adopt, there are indisputable instances of exception; and that Southwell church, in many particulars, presents some of those instances to the observation of the more inquisitive; it only remains to compress, into the compass of a few lines, the substance of those general remarks, which have been made more at length, in the course of their application to the particular subject of investigation; and to add some few other pieces of information relative to the principal topic, which did not seem to claim a particular mention in any other place.

THE sum, then, of what has been advanced, on the subject of ancient architecture, is shortly this. The Romans bequeathed to the enervated Britons science scarcely sufficient for the purpose of enabling them to enlighten, in their turn, the savage minds of their Saxon invaders. All the buildings, which were erected in Britain, between the time of the Romans resigning the dominion of it, by the recall of their legions to protect their own frontiers, and the conquest by the Normans, were, therefore, on the models, which the former had left behind them. But the models were nearly all that survived their departure; for the Britons had not knowledge enough to design with elegance, if their intestine divisions had allowed them leisure sufficient to construct with nicety and precision. What little skill in architecture they possessed, rather declined, than increased, under the barbarous pressure of the Saxon government; till the empire of arts, as well as of arms, was partly established by the great Alfred. Not a few public works, indeed, were undertaken during the Heptarchy; and those, considering the state of science, of extraordinary magnitude; but, probably, in general, very destitute of decoration, and inelegant in their proportions. That model, which in the hands of the Romans had produced symmetry and

magnificence, in those of the rude Saxons presented nothing to the view, but sombreous expanse, and massive strength.

FROM the reign of Edward the Confessor, at least, if not before, such a connexion was preserved, by our monarchs, with the Dukes of Normandy, that it became the common practice to procure workmen from *that*, to assist in erecting the public buildings of *this* country. Under his protection the arts began to revive, and architecture among the rest. M. Paris writes, “Edwardus sepultus est Londini in ecclesiâ, quam ipse *novo compositionis genere* construxerat: “a quâ post multi Ecclesias construentes, exemplum adepti, opus “illud expensis æmulabantur sumptuosis.” Edward had received his education in the court of Normandy; it is, therefore, matter of no surprise, that he should endeavour to introduce into his kingdom the sciences which flourished there. The Roman model still continued, however, to prevail: indeed it seems to have been general over all Europe. What Mr. Warton says of the Norman buildings *after* the conquest, appears truly applicable to this more improved state of architecture *before* that event. “The proportions were extended, “and the scale enlarged,” and more ornament was introduced; but the essential qualities of the style remained the same: the construction was simple, designed principally for use, and strength, with little attention to beauty, or elegance. After the conquest, the Normans brought with them, not only artificers of the greatest experience and the best renown, but designs better finished, and even materials for carrying them into execution.

TOWERS now became the common decoration of public buildings, on every part of which they began to rise, as much for ornament, as use; wherefore they were constructed of different sizes and shapes.

But, of all the alterations introduced at this time, vaulted roofs was the greatest. This was an improvement in architecture, of which the Saxons had not any notion; nor, indeed, were they supplied with the means of erecting them, had they possessed the theory, or been instructed in the principles of their construction. The common stone, with which walls were composed, was heavy and ill-adapted to vaulting; and that lighter sort, which their successors, the Normans, applied to these purposes, was unknown to them; at least, we never find such in their buildings. This I take to be the "*novum genus ædificandi*," which raised so much admiration. I would not be understood to mean, that there was no such thing as a vaulted roof, in this kingdom, before the conquest: there might be some executed by Norman workmen, in the latter times of the Saxons; but the few exceptions of this kind, and the quarter from which they originated, rather confirm, than militate against, the general proposition. When these roofs were once introduced, the progress of their improvement is easily discerned. They were first plain; then divided by ribs of freestone. These ribs were, for some time, few, simple, and unadorned; but, by degrees they became numerous, diversified, and rich. At first, they were calculated merely for strength; afterwards, they were constructed principally with a view to elegance, and fashion.

EVERY description of angular ornament, especially that denominated *zig-zag*, it has been observed, were most in favor with the Normans; insomuch, that, from the reign of Edward the Confessor to that of Henry I, the scantiness, or the profusion, of this species of decoration, will generally determine, with no inconsiderable precision, the æra of erection.

THE introduction of the Gothic style, and the progress of its refinement, have been, already, sufficiently ascertained. It is enough,

therefore, in this recapitulation, to observe, that, as the learned commentator on Pope writes, "the object to be imitated by the promoters of this species of architecture, being wholly different from that which had influenced the labors of their predecessors, the principles on which the latter proceeded were perfectly original; and it is difficult to say, whether the novelty of the design, or the chaste and natural execution, are most to be admired." Lightness was the predominating distinction of the Gothic architecture: and with that, at its first introduction, simplicity also was united. The general style continued nearly the same through several successive reigns; but, as the facility of execution became improved by practice, the builder began to think his skill required some testimony from invention, as well as from accuracy. This prospect of immortality to his fame, in the admiration of posterity, opened a wide field for ingenuity. From the time of Edward III, when this departure from the chaste simplicity of preceding ages first took place, almost every reign produced some new species of ornament, or some modification of the old. About the death of Henry VI, or, at most, not later than that of his immediate successor, Gothic architecture is supposed to have arrived at its *achme*. There are, indeed, some few instances, in the subsequent reigns of Henry VII and VIII, where the taste of the architect does not seem to have been corrupted by the prevailing rage for finery; but these are, in general, buildings which were begun under the preceding monarchs; where the designs were already formed, and, not unfrequently, where the edifice was so far erected, as absolutely to dictate the particular mode, in which it must be finished. These, however, are exceptions to the general style of the times; whether the taste, in which they are built, owes its adoption to necessity, or to preference. The architecture of the age was, what a celebrated writer, before cited, has denominated "the florid Gothic."—It was ornament without beauty; profusion without taste; labor without its ordinary

consequence, magnificence: without the smallest pretensions to taste, elegance, or harmony, it was splendid affectation, meretricious frippery.—But to return to the immediate subject of our inquiry.

IN a small yard, on the right hand of the cloister leading to the chapter-house, stood the ancient baptistery, near to the holy-well. That came into disuse after the restoration, and the present font was placed, where it now stands, toward the west end of the south aisle, in the body of the church, by a Mr. Ballard, who lived, and had considerable property, in Eastthorpe, near Southwell.*

THE monuments I consider as pieces of antiquity, to be examined separately; independently of the fabrick. Those, therefore, I reserve for a subsequent chapter, to be treated of among the curiosities of the town and neighborhood.

Two collections of arms, which are recorded in the libraries of Oxford; an account, by Sir William Dugdale, (to be found in the Herald's college) of some other devices remaining in the church, at the time of his visitation of Nottinghamshire, before the civil wars of the last century; and a curious piece of sculpture in one of the most ancient parts of the church; all seem properly to claim a mention here. The two former, at least, may afford some inferences, from which we may ascertain who were the principal contributors to the erection of this stupendous fabrick.

To begin with the last-mentioned of these. The stone, on which is this curious piece of sculpture, is about three feet in length, and

* THIS information was obtained from the Rev. E. Crofts, to whose authority I have frequent occasion to recur for the traditional history of this place; it having constituted a principal part of his amusement through almost half a century, to make a collection of anecdotes relative to Southwell.

half as much in breadth. It forms the head of the door-way leading to the stair-case of the large tower, where the bells are hung. This is one of the oldest parts of the building, and there can be no doubt but the sculpture is, at least, coeval with the wall, in which it is inserted, if not older.* Its peculiar antique appearance, and the very uncommon rudeness of the execution, arrested the attention of Warburton, on his visit to Southwell before mentioned, and on a supposition that the device in question was some hieroglyphical representation, intimately connected with the early fortunes of the church, he spent much time in attempting an interpretation of it, but without satisfaction to himself. After this, it may, perhaps, appear presumption to hazard a conjecture, respecting its meaning; but the group of figures seem to suggest a very simple and obvious one.† At one end, a lamb is confining the head of a lion, whose teeth a man is drawing: at the other, an angel is subduing an immense dragon. In the language of scripture, Christ is typified by a lamb; as the devil is by a dragon.‡

* It may be difficult to express on paper the reasons which influence my opinion in believing this piece of Sculpture to be of a prior date to even the oldest part of the present church. Whoever will take the trouble to view it, however, will, among other circumstances worthy of notice, observe that there has been a great deal of unnecessary carving, if this stone was originally designed for the place it now occupies; as the most finished part of it is a border on the under side, which passes a considerable way into the wall at both ends and is not noticed by a cursory observer; as also that even the front of the stone, on which is the hieroglyphical representation, is not perfect, and does not, on a minute examination, appear, from the contiguous stones, to have ever been so since it was placed in its present situation. I do not hesitate to say that on mature reflection, I esteem this stone as exhibiting one of the earliest specimens of Saxon sculpture in this island. I see no reason to doubt its being a part of the original church erected by Paulinus.

† I am not *now* to learn that some, who have read the former edition of this work, think time ill-spent on a subject scarcely worth the trouble of a conjecture, but its being the only bass relief of an emblematical, or historical kind, in the whole of the ancient part of this church, has induced me to deem it not unworthy of a second notice.

‡ "A Dragon is the well known sign or symbol of the Devil and Satan." Newton on the Prophecies, Vol. 3, Chap. 12.

I would, therefore, alluding to two well-known passages in the sacred writings, explain this mystical piece of sculpture in the following manner.—*Under the protection of the lamb, Daniel was able to overcome the lion,* and Michael the devil.†* These sort of bass reliefs on churches, and religious houses, were generally intended to perpetuate some legendary tale respecting the foundation of the building, or the life of its founder; and therefore, as matters of local history, are sometimes worthy of investigation.‡ Where their dates can be nearly ascertained they may exhibit a specimen of the state of the arts, and, in that view, be of use in determining their progress. There are stronger marks of antiquity in this piece of sculpture, than in any I ever saw, not excepting even the celebrated ones in the west front of Lincoln cathedral. What particular reference it may bear to the foundation, or what connexion its interpretation may have with the circumstances, of Southwell church, it may be difficult to conjecture, perhaps none; but, whether the explanation here attempted be right, or not, it probably alludes to some passage in scripture, and its design seems applicable enough to the purposes of a place of christian worship, and satisfactorily demonstrates that even among the Saxons, rude as they were, efforts were now and then made within the circle of the sciences.

THE Oxford collections are, one in the Bodleian Library, the other in the Museum. That in the former makes part of a book marked

* AND the King spake and said, O Daniel, is thy God, whom thou servest continually, able to deliver thee from the Lions? Then Daniel said unto the King, my God hath sent his Angel, and hath shut the Lions mouths that they have not hurt me. Dan. Chap. 6.

† AND there was war in Heaven; Michael and his Angels fought against the Dragon. And the Dragon was cast out, that old serpent called the Devil. And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb. Rev. Chap. 12.

‡ VID. Bentham's History of Ely Cathedral.

MSS. Rawlinson 1396. It contains the armorial bearings of the following families, which are stated to have been copied from the windows of the church of Southwell. The names are subjoined to many of them: those that have them not, are all, except three, appropriated by a very intelligent Herald.* The three, which are doubtful, are inserted in the engraving.

Cresye.	Annesley, Lord of Annesley.
Albanie, Erle of Arundel, quartering Burnan Erle Warren.	D'Albanie.
Lowdham, Lord of Lowdham.	Croopul, Lord of Croopul.
Fitzwilliam, Lord Sprotborow.	Beachamp, Erle of Warwick.
Lord Grey of Wilton.	Lord Lawarr.
Vere, Erle of Oxford.	Stanton of Stanton.
Lord Latimer.	Fuliambe.
Lord Crumwell.	Crouchback, Erle of Lancaster.
Stavely.	Menell.
Menel of the Holte.	Lord Dayncourt.
Thomas Brotherton, second son of Edward I.	Lord Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.
Burgh, quartering Whitmore.	Perpoint.
Barry of Torlaton.	Annesley.
Sir William de Thorpe.	Lord Cromwell.
Jorz of Burton Jorz.	Lord Dalbenye.
Booth, A. B. of York.	Lowdham.
Booth and Leigh of Bagulegh.	Menell of the Holte.
Booth and Traiford.	King Edward III.
Booth and Brereton.	Lionel, Duke of Clarence.
K. Edward the Confessor.	John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, third son of Edward III.
Mortimer, Erle of March.	Edmund of Langley, Duke of Yorke.
Montagu, Erle of Salesburie.	Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Glo- cester.
Lord Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.	De Whalley.
Bosome of Screveton.	Hamby.
Hose of Flintham.	Gotham.
Willoughby.	Bellers.
W. Booth, A. B. of York.	Henry, Erle of Hartforde, after King Henry IV, son of John of Gaunt.
Stirley, Lord of Stirley.	

* Edm. Lodge, Esq. of the Herald's College, author of Illustrations of British History.

Roose, Lord of Bever Castle.	Albanie, Erle of Arundel.
Lord Scroope.	Courtney, Erle of Devons.
Leake.	Mortimer, Erle of March.
Stanton of Stanton.	Arundel.
Clifford, Erle of Cumberland.	Montagu, Erle of Sallesburie.
Edward of Wodestocke, Erle of Kent.	Lord Spencer.

So much of Sir William Dugdale's account, as relates to the church, coincides with this from Rawlinson's collection, with the omission only of three, or four, of the coats of arms, and the addition of some few other devices, which are given in the annexed engraving. One of these is a figure in stone, representing, as he informs us, "an armed knight treading on an old woman clothed in a scarlet robe;" intended, perhaps, to represent the abominations of Popery, under the metaphorical resemblance of the scarlet whore: if so, we may reasonably conclude, that it was fixed here at no very distant period from the reformation, when the ridicule of Popery comprised all the fashionable humor of the day.* The other additional devices, noticed by Dugdale, speak for themselves. They were in the windows of the chapel built by Archbishop Booth, and represent different persons of his family, or those with whom he was connected.

THAT in the Oxford museum purports to be "a collection of arms in the windows of the church of Southwell, taken by Elias Ashmole, Esq. in the year 1662." It contains the following coats:

IN THE GREAT WEST WINDOW.

Palmer of Southwell, and Kighley of Newal.

France modern, quartering England.—Foljambe.

* IN some one of the critiques of the day (though memory does not serve me to say in which) on the former edition of this work, it was suggested that an allusion to the crusades was a more probable interpretation of these figures.

IN THE WINDOWS OF THE SOUTH AISLE OF THE CHURCH.

Lord Darcy.	Annesley.
Clifford, Erle of Cumberland.	Scroope.
Oglethorpe of Normanton.	Scroope of Masham.
Lord Roos.	Deincourt of Knapthorp.
Fitzwilliam.	Wastneys of Headon.
Lacy, Erle of Lincoln.	Loudham.
Staunton of Staunton.	Neville of Stoke.
Jortz of Burton Jortz.	

IN THE SOUTH WINDOW OF THE GREAT CROSS.

Hawike.

IN THE WINDOWS OF THE NORTH AISLE.

Baron Greystock, and one unappropriated.

IN THE NORTH WINDOWS OF THE GREAT CROSS.

Leake of Halam, and Neville of Grove.

THIS part of the subject must not be dismissed without another observation, which seems worthy of notice. Upon examining the roof of the choir, or Gothic part of the church, at the place of its junction with the nave, or Saxon part, there are most evident marks of another building having occupied, at least, a part of that ground, on which the modern choir stands, and of its having been united with the great tower. Now the probability is, that this was the most ancient part of the fabrick, and was become a ruin in the reign of Edward III, which gave occasion to the rebuilding it in its present form. From this mode of reasoning, several intelligent persons have concluded that, what was then removed, was the original church erected by Paulinus; and, indeed, without admitting some such supposition, we can scarcely account for its being in ruins so early as the time of Edward III. After all, however, the most probable conjecture we can form, on this point, from such a scanty supply of materials, will be very far short of that irrefragable proof, which might be wished; on a subject too professedly undertaken with a view of settling a disputed fact, not unimportant to a perfect knowlege of the general progress of the arts, and especially illustrative of the particular subject under examination.

THE
TOWN OF SOUTHWELL.

CHAP. III.

* (O) *

HAVING executed the projected inquiry respecting the antiquity of the *Church* of Southwell, it now becomes me to say something of the *Town*, which boasts so extraordinary a structure. At what period this place obtained its present appellation, it will be almost impossible to ascertain. That it has formerly flourished under other names, even at so remote an æra, as that of the Roman government in Britain, there is strong reason for supposing: that it was a place of some note among the Saxons we have authentic testimony for believing.

THE *Itinerarium Antonini* is the first document, to which I shall have recourse in this investigation. It is, perhaps, almost unnecessary to inform my readers, that this work is merely an account of the

several stations, which were situated on, or near to, the principal Roman military ways; undertaken by the direction of one of the Antonini, while this island was under the dominion of the Roman emperors. Later opinions give the honor of it to Caracalla, rather than to Antoninus Pius: and what seems to add some confirmation to this opinion, though less noticed, perhaps, than it deserves, is, that Caracalla was himself several years in Britain; and, therefore, much more likely to have given the sanction of his authority to such an undertaking. These itinera seem to be so many marching routes for the soldiers; and therefore, if consulted with more confidence and attention, than the conjectural speculations of most inquirers after antiquity will allow them, would determine, in many instances, with great precision, the situations of the more important Roman roads and stations.* The principal route, which I am now to investigate, is that from London to Lincoln, from which, as has lately been observed by a very learned antiquary, † “there seem to have been “others of inferior note (passing through Southwell) to Nottingham “and Mansfield.” The account stands thus in the original.

<i>Iter</i>	<i>Road</i>
<i>A Londinio Lindum</i>	<i>From London to Lincoln 156</i>
M. P. CLVI.	<i>miles, Roman measure.</i>
A. Londinio	From London
Verolamio M. P. XXI	St. Albans.
Durocobrio XII	Dunstable.
Magiovinio XII	Fenny Stratford.

* “It is supposed, however, that there were many roads of inferior consequence, leading from the “large and permanent fortified intrenchments to little exploratory camps, to the villas of commanders “and great men, and even to the places of sepulture, of which no notice is taken in these itineraria.” Vid. Corresp. of Sir George Young and Hayman Rooke, Esq. Archæol. Vol. 9. † Ibid.

Lactodoro	XVI	* Towcester.
Isanavatiâ	XII	Daventry.
Tribontio	XII	Rugby.
Venonis	IX	Cleycester.
Ratis	XII	Leicester.
Verometo	XIII	
Margiduno	XIII	
Ad Pontem	VII	
Crococolanâ	VII	
Lindo	XII	Lincoln.

As far as Leicester, the modern towns, which answer to the old Roman stations, have been so well ascertained by antiquaries of eminence, that it would be to little purpose to examine the authorities in this place: but, were it otherwise, what renders it unnecessary here is; first, that, whether the stations could be exactly ascertained, or not, the road itself is still to be traced beyond all possibility of controversy: and, secondly, that the subject of our present examination, lies between Leicester and the other extremity of this route, Lincoln.

THE first station then, after Ratae or Leicester, which demands inquiry, is Verometum. Pursuing the Roman road, or foss, as it is still called, on the confines of Nottinghamshire, we come to a field at the brow of the hill overlooking Willoughby Brook; where, as Dr. Stukely, the industrious antiquary, says, "Many coins and mosaic pavements have frequently been dug up, and leave no room to doubt its having been a Roman station." The distance from Leicester answers very exactly to the Roman estimate, and fixes, with considerable precision, the ancient Verometum at this place.*

* ON the Willoughby side of the road is a tumulus called Cross Hill, and on the opposite side of it at about an equal distance are Upper Borough-town and Nether Borough-town, under the modern

MARGIDUNUM, the next station, is equally ascertained. At the distance where the itinerarium fixes it, are the remains of a Roman camp. "Many Roman bricks," says our last-mentioned author, "and other antiquities have been found, particularly a coin of Vespasian." This is called Barrow Field, and is in the parish of East Bridgeford.* The same account of this place is also to be met with in Camden, Horsley, and other topographical writers.

WE now come to Ad Pontem, the post of difficulty. Many persons, deceived by the supposed etymology of its present name, have placed this station at Ponton near Grantham; but the *name* is all that can be discovered to justify such an opinion; while the arguments are numerous, which may be urged against it: among the rest, that there is no water in, or near, Ponton, to require the accommodation of any considerable bridge; and it is not probable that a small and inconsiderable one should have given distinction to a Roman station: but the most material objection is, that the town of Ponton lies so entirely out of any reasonable direction from Leicester to Lincoln, that it is almost impossible to conceive the Romans could make it a station in their route between these two places. Still, however, if there remained a doubt, the distance of Ponton from Bridgeford would decide the difficulty; for the itinerary makes Ad Pontem only seven Roman miles from Margidunum: Ponton is nearly twice that distance. An observation on the name of the station Ad Pontem has not escaped the better informed writers on this subject, which is well worthy of examination. The names of all the other stations being put in the ablative case, and this alone in the appellation of Broughton. This as will be more particularly noticed hereafter, indicate the vicinity of a Roman fortification.

* FURTHER observations will occur in a subsequent page on the word *Barrow*: here let it suffice to remark that it is nearly synonymous with tumulus, and indicates the vicinity of a Roman sepulchre.

accusative, with the preposition *ad*, will require a material distinction to be made in the constructions of these different expressions. I much incline to think this remark clears up considerable difficulties respecting the bridge, which the appellation of *Ad Pontem* may appear, at first sight, to imply, and which cannot have been upon the foss itself for two reasons: first, because the station would then have been put in the ablative *Ponte*; and secondly, because there is no water nearer than the river Trent, over which it could be necessary to erect a bridge. Supposing the word *viâ* to be (in the school phrase) *understood*, and the name of the station to stand *Viâ ad Pontem*, it may be Englished by some such expression as, *the station near to the bridge, or to which the bridge leads*; or, more literally, *the station on the road to the bridge*.* This interpretation relieves us from all our difficulties respecting the bridge, which arose from the supposition of the station being immediately *at* one. Should this opinion be admitted, we must next advert to the Roman calculation of miles between Margidunum, and Ad Pontem, which appear, by the itinerary, to be seven. Now the distance from the spot of ground near Bridgeford (which is considered as the ancient Roman station) to Southwell, exactly corresponds with the Roman estimate;† whereas it is, at least, thirteen miles from Newark, the only other place in *this direction* which has been supposed, by any writer on the subject, to stand in competition with Southwell. The inference that necessarily arises from these premises, is, that the claim of Southwell stands most prominent, among all the rival places of this neighborhood, for having had the honor of being the Roman station Ad Pontem.‡ The great difficulty appeared

* AD TUAM was the name of a Roman fortification *near to* a river Taü, or Taus, about seven miles from Norwich, and now called Tascburgh. Vid. Wilkins's Essay. Archæol. Vol. 12.

† VID. annexed map.

‡ VID; Horsley's Brit. Rom.

to arise from the notion, that this station must, on account of its name, have been situated immediately *at* a bridge, and therefore at a river large enough to have induced the Romans to build one. This embarrassment being removed by the foregoing explanation of the appellation Ad Pontem, there are several concurring testimonies which corroborate the above assumption. Ponton appearing to be wholly out of the question, from its situation and circumstances being properly weighed, Newark has always been considered as the only place which can stand in any kind of competition with Southwell; but, independent of all other arguments, some of which compose a material part of a subsequent chapter, that already noticed to the advantage of Southwell, in the comparative distances from Margidunum, seems decisive of the controversy.

CROCOCOLANA is indisputably fixed at Brugh near Collingham.* Collingham itself was formerly supposed to have been the station; but, beside that its situation is out of the direction, many other arguments have been satisfactorily urged against that opinion. The question is thus treated by Stukely.† “Brugh,” says he, “was the Roman station. The Saxons liked situations nearer rivers, and therefore built Collingham, part of whose church is composed of the ruins of Brugh. Collingham was a market town very early, much before Newark. Brugh continued a large place even till the time of the Danes, but they destroyed it in the reign of Edmund Ironside. Dane-thorp, whose name bespeaks its origin, is hard by.” What is here advanced by our author respecting Collingham, must be understood of the original town, not of *that* which now goes under this appellation. The present town is in a very low situation, which agrees

* VID. Horsley's Brit. Rom. Also Stukely's Itin.

† ITIN.

so ill with its obvious etymology* as to make it manifest that some essential alteration has taken place, since the time when, according to Stukely, it was a town of such superior importance.† But, to return to the more immediate subject of our inquiry. Being arrived at Ad Pontem, which, if I may be allowed the expression, seems to have been a sort of metropolis among the inferior detached encampments, three great roads conducted the army, according to its destination, to any one of, at least, *three* other very principal posts, viz. Nottingham, Mansfield, and Lincoln; even supposing Newark not to have been of this description. Between Ad Pontem and the two first named of these, there were many little intermediate encampments, designed to preserve the line of communication, for the protection of the people who lived under the Roman government, and for the refreshment and accommodation of troops on their march. Some of these have been well ascertained, especially on the road to Mansfield; they appear to have been numerous, and will be more noticed in a subsequent page.‡

THE Roman road from Ad Pontem or Southwell, to Gausennœ or Nottingham, has not yet been so well ascertained; but, if I rightly conjecture, it passed through the town of Woodborough or Udebo-

* FROM Collis, a hill.

† THE Brugh (or Burgh) of the Romans, was probably the Collingham of the Saxons, as such an appellation well suits its situation. On the destruction of that place, the modern town might be built out of its ruins, and assume its name, though the situation was wholly different. This has been a common event. In modern times, names of whole provinces have been transported to distant quarters of the globe, without the smallest reflection on the propriety of their new application; witness the appropriation of many English names which have, since our possession of America, been made across the Atlantic.

‡ VID. Major Rooke's letter to Sir G. Young. Archæol. Vol. 9. Also in a subsequent chapter of this work.

rough, which lies in a direct line between the two places, and by the termination of its name (as will be more particularly observed hereafter) plainly indicates a Roman station. It is well known that all the Roman roads were as nearly in straight lines, as the circumstances and situation, of the country would admit; an undeviating reference, at the same time, being had to eminences, and dry places. Now a straight line drawn from Southwell to Nottingham would pass first through the village of Halloughton, which I take to have been Roman;* secondly, over the hills to the west of Thurgarton, in whose monastery an uncommon quantity of Roman coins have been lately found; thirdly, through Woodborough, decidedly of Roman origin, and so on by Lambly to Nottingham.

A VERY recent discovery points out the precise track, which led to one of the other stations from Ad Pontem, viz. to Lindum, through Crococolana. The want of this has always been the stumbling block to antiquaries, in determining Southwell to be Ad Pontem; the discovery of it seems to put the question almost beyond a doubt. The summer months of 1792 and 1793 being extremely dry, the foundations of an immense bridge appeared in the river Trent (rendered shallow by the drought) near to the little village of Winthorpe by Newark. On examination, there was every reason to think them as old as the time of the Romans; and a sort of negative confirmation of that opinion arises from there not being even the vestige of a tradition,

* EVERY place, which had been occupied by the Romans, was distinguished, among their successors, by some particular appellation, indicative of the purposes, to which it had been applied. Halloughton, or Hallowed town, of which the former is a corruption, is a very common appellation of towns in many parts of the kingdom, and I conjecture, from repeated observation, is as expressive of a Roman tumulus, as Cester is of a Roman camp, or Burgh of a Roman redoubt, though certainly of different derivation.

that any such bridge has been situated on this part of the river Trent, since the time of the Norman conquest.* The scite of it, if more closely examined, presents even a still stronger argument for believing, that this only doubtful part of the Roman iter has been, at length, ascertained by this accident. If a line were drawn from Southwell to Brough, it would pass over a hill, called (from time immemorial) *Mickleborough*; and also over this very bridge, whose foundations have so lately been discovered.

OF the name *Mickleborough* I need observe but little, to decide that it had a Roman origin.† If its situation be examined it will be found to have been remarkably well adapted to the purpose supposed. It is the loftiest eminence in all this country, commanding the whole view of it from Ad Pontem to the river; is situate about midway between them; and presenting, through a very low and wet district, an elevated, dry march.‡

It is neither an uncommon, nor an ill-founded, accusation against inquirers after antiquity, that, like all other supporters of a theory, if they can lay hold of one favorable incident or circumstance, they make all others bend to the establishment and support of their system.

* IT is not improbable but a passage across the river would be made hereabouts during the civil wars of the last century; but it certainly would not be by a bridge of stone, executed with the most perfect masonry, but a bridge of boats, or at most of wood with piles driven into the bed of the river, for the purposes of temporary communication, during the siege of Newark.

† BOROUGH is the english of Burgus, and that is derived from *πυργος* a redoubt or fortification. The names of many places in this country have this termination, and most of them are known to have been Roman stations.

‡ IN the north-east part of the county, fourteen Roman miles from Lincoln on the Trent is Littleborough, which has lately been decided by antiquaries to be the Agelocum of the Romans. A few miles south of Littleborough is Fledborough. These forts were all built for one and the same purpose, the protection of the navigation on the Trent. Vid. Gough's Add. to Cam. Brit. Art. Nottinghamshire.

Under a full conviction that this remark is generally just, and divested of every conscious prejudice, I examined this remarkable eminence itself with all possible attention, and scanned its relative bearings, distances, and directions, with the most cautious accuracy. I drove from my recollection, when I viewed it, its Roman appellation, and sought only to find, on its surface, traces of Roman fortification, and, in its relative situation, symptoms of a Roman iter. I clearly discovered both. I then, and not till then, gave ample credit to its Roman termination, and satisfied my mind that it had been the site of a Roman camp. Where the plough has been laboring, for centuries, to level every eminence, to elevate every trench, to obliterate even every little undulation, or irregularity of surface, it is no wonder that a complete fossa, and vallum, do not arrest the immediate attention of every careless visitor; but, if ever I could trace the limits of the Prætorium, or ascertain the boundaries of a Roman camp, I found them here. I next adverted to its bearings, and found, as has already been noticed, that a straight north-east line carried me to the remains of the bridge at Winthorpe, in the road to Brugh; while a south-west one passed over the Burgage hill of Southwell to the Roman camp at Combes, in the direct way to the decided Roman station at Bury hill, near Mansfield.*

Thus fortified by discoveries, more recent than the publication of any former work on this subject, I shall proceed, with some confidence, to the production of another argument in support of my hypothesis, that Southwell was the Ad Pontem of the Romans. This arises from the name this place bore in the time of venerable Bede. Treating of the public baptism, which Paulinus, one of the first bishops in Britain, administered, our historian writes that he baptized the multitude "in

* *VID.* annexed map.

“fluvio Trehenta juxta Civitatem quæ linguâ Anglorum Tiovulfingacester vocatur.” Now, it is well known, that the English termination *cester* is answerable to the Latin *castrum*; and, therefore, that, wherever the name of any town ends in *cester*, we may lay it down as a certain rule, that it has been in the neighborhood of a Roman camp. It seems now universally agreed, that the *Civitas Tiovulfingacester* of Bede, is Southwell. Camden in his *Britannia* roundly asserts that, in his time, there was a private history of the place in being, which put it beyond a doubt, by giving an account of the transactions of Paulinus, in these parts; and of the foundation of the church of Southwell, then called *Tiovulfingacester*, in commemoration of his great success in converting the inhabitants to christianity. The same thing is asserted by Dugdale, in his short account of this place, published in 1716. His words are, “Paulinus, the first Archbishop of York, having baptized the inhabitants of the parts thereabouts in the river Trent, near to *Tiovulfingacester*, here begun the structure of this church of Southwell, as the private history of this place avoucheth. It soon after changed its name to that it now beareth, by reason of a fair spring or well to the southward of it.”

HENRY of Huntingdon writes the name of *Fingecester*, but gives the same account of Paulinus going from Lincoln, after the foundation of that church was laid, to baptize in the Trent. I am not clear but the baptismal ceremony performed by Paulinus might be the event, from which the ancient name of this place originated. I suppose it to be a compound of Roman, and of Saxon, which many of our names as well of persons, as of places, certainly are; and the words, of which it is compounded, to be a Saxon one, *Tiolo*,* signifying industry; whence it is in some places written *Tiolingacester*; the Roman word,

* WHENCE probably our english word *toil*.

Vulgus, the multitude; the Saxon one, Fengan,* to lay hands on; and then the Roman again, Castrum, anglicised by the word cester, or station. Thus analysed, it signifies *the place where much industry was employed in laying hands on the multitude.*

It must not be omitted, that there have been several Roman coins, of late years, dug up, on the south, and east, sides of this town; but so little value has been set upon these, by the inhabitants of the place, that very few of them are now to be procured. The first, of which any account is still to be collected, was found about fifty years ago, nearly in a south-east direction from the palace, and at a distance from it of not more than sixty yards. It is now lost beyond recovery, but the description I have received of it, is, that it was of a metal resembling copper, but of a lighter color, and was nearly the size of a modern half crown; the impression on one side entirely obliterated, on the other only a very small part of a head remaining, with the words Cæs: Aug: in very legible characters. From this description the most we can collect is, that it was Roman; but even that is sufficient for the present purpose.

THREE small copper coins were a few years since found at the east end of the town, which were lately in the possession of a Mr. William Nicholson, an inhabitant of the place. Age and damp have rendered one of these wholly illegible. On one of the other two, nothing more is to be ascertained than, on one side, a *Caput Laureatum*, and the inscription *Consta----*; on the reverse, the word *Invict.* But it is easily discovered to be a coin of Constantius, which exhibits, on one side, this emperor's head; on the reverse, *adificium quoddam*, with the inscription *Invicta Roma.* The other is evidently a coin of Maxentius.

* WHENCE our English word *finger.*

It exhibits, on one side, the *Caput Galcatum cum hastá*, with the inscription *Marentius, P. F. Aug.* On the reverse a *Victoria alata tenens clypeum*.*

MANY other Roman coins, especially of the *later* emperors, have been discovered, at different times, in the vicinity of Southwell. At Thurgarton priory more than would fill a peck basket were found a few years since, on removing a very ancient part of that fabrick. But, if the matter were still undecided, a very recent discovery would enable us to pronounce that Southwell had, at least, been the *residence* of Romans, by whatever appellation it might be celebrated, or by whatever size and magnificence it might be distinguished, in their time; for, in breaking up a piece of ground under the eastern side of of the archbishop's palace, in the year 1793, to make a garden for one of the gentlemen of this church, † a tessalated Roman floor was discovered of considerable extent, accompanied by several fragments of urns. ‡ In laying down a part of the flat pavement on the north side of the church, a little anterior to the time last mentioned, the workmen accidentally broke into a small vault, which, on the most scrupulous examination, was found to have been constructed almost entirely with Roman bricks. In the year 1794 one of the oldest prebendal houses in this town, situated on the north side of the church, was pulled down: in the walls, especially near the foundations, were many Roman bricks mixed with other materials; and I am

* IN this description I have chosen to adopt the *very words* of more than one writer professedly treating on the subject of Roman coins.

† THE Rev. Mr. Bristoe, in whose possession many of the fragments remain.

‡ THESE were found at the depth of five or six feet from the surface. The area of ground, which was disturbed, was very small, and the discovery quite accidental; but the materials produced are so evidently decisive of their Roman origin, that no further investigation has been thought necessary at so considerable a depth, as the expence would be immoderate.

informed, that scarce any of the more ancient buildings of the place have shared a similar fate, but in the foundations, at least, many Roman remains have been discovered.

To sum up all that has been advanced on this subject, the pretensions of Southwell will stand thus: Ad Pontem was certainly a Roman station near to the river Trent, on the Roman iter from Ratae to Lindum, and between Margidunum and Croecolana. Trovulfingacester was also a Roman station near the river Trent, and in the vicinity of the two last mentioned places. Historians of repute assure us that the modern Southwell, and the ancient Trovulfingacester, are one and the same place: and there being no vestige of any other Roman station near this place, which can stand in competition with it, aided, as we are, by modern discoveries, we can scarcely refuse our assent to the conclusion, that Southwell was the celebrated Roman station Ad Pontem.

EXCEPT what has been already cited from Dugdale, I find no mention whatever of the period when Southwell first obtained its present appellation; but, if we may credit that account, very soon after the foundation of its church. In Leland's Collectanea we read, in a history of the kings of Merche, i. e. Mercia, that "There was a Se at Southwel of the Merches which now longeth "to tharchbishop of York." In Edward the Confessor's time, and also in that of William I, it appears in several instruments under its present appellation. Whatever might be the period of its origin, the occasion of it is involved in no doubt. Its well, noticed by Dugdale, and probably rendered famous by its utility to the Roman encampment, or to the subsequent Saxon town, was the cause of its denomination. In the time of the Conqueror, and for some reigns afterwards, it seems to have gone under the common appellation of Southwell, Sudwell, and Suwell; the two latter being

only corruptions of the first. In doomsday book it is generally written Sudwell; in the register of the church, or white book, which is certainly as old as the reign of Henry I, it generally appears under the name of Suthwell; in the Thurgarton register, a book hereafter to be noticed, under that of Suwell. In Roger Hoveden's Annals, where this place is frequently mentioned, it is generally under the last of these denominations: the same in Ingulphus, Henry of Huntington, and William of Malmsbury. In these authors it is often noticed as the residence of the archbishops of York, and, sometimes, on other accounts. Scarce a single instance of great public convulsion occurs, in early times, but this place partook, in some way or other, of the confusion of the period; for it was not until after the spoliations of Henry VIII, that its church sunk into obscurity, and the place itself into oblivion. In that point of view, we often meet with it celebrated as the scene of intrigue, and negociation; the center of politicks, or of war; and, not unfrequently, as the prison of the weak, the unwary, or the unfortunate. Leaving the later instances for a part of this work, to which they more properly belong, let me mention a few very early ones, illustrative of the present subject, which we find thus recorded. Richard I, having determined on his famous expedition to the Holy Land, left the administration of the kingdom in the hands of William Bishop of Ely, his chancellor, and Hugh Bishop of Durham, justice north of Humber. These two brilliant suns, it seems, could not shine in the same hemisphere. William soon obscured his brother of Durham. Hugh remonstrated; and, to give his remonstrances the greater weight, met the chancellor *in villâ de Blie*, to whom he shewed the king's letters, conferring his appointment north of Humber. William, apparently satisfied, drew Hugh on as far *usque ad Suwelle*, where he kept him a prisoner till he had, one by one, surrendered to his potent rival, says Hoveden "*castellum de Windshoure & omnia cætera quæ Rex Richardus illi tradiderat in custodiâ.*"

The same author records another instance of Southwell becoming the residence of Kings, thus: "Statuit Dominus Rex Richardus diem coronationis suæ apud Wintoniam in clauso Paschæ. Eodem die perrexit Rex apud Clipstun contra Wilhelmum Regem Scottorum: Et præcepit ut omnes qui capti fuerant in Castello de Nottingham et Castello de Tikhill et aliis Castellis convenirent at eum apud Wintoniam in crastino clausi Paschæ. Tertiâ die mensis Aprilis (dominicâ scilicet in ramis palmarum) fecit Rex Angliæ moram apud Clipstun, et Rex Scottorum apud Worksoppe propter diem solennem. Quartâ die Aprilis Rex Angliæ et Rex Scotiæ vénérent apud Suwelle. Rex Scotiæ petit a Rege Angliæ dignitates & honores quos Predecessores sui habuerunt in Angliâ." In another place the same historian writes "Rex Richardus iratus dissaisiavit Thomam de Archiepisiopatu Eboraci; & facta est inter Regem & illum discordia gravis. Sed paulo post predictus Eboracensis electus recepit ordinem Sacerdotalem a Johanne Episcopo Candidæ Casæ Suffraganeo suo mense Septembris Sabbato quarto Kalendarum apud Suelle."* This place, with its hamlets and members (which now make up, what is called, the Soke of Southwell) before the conquest, was a distinct hundred, lying between the hundreds of Thurgarton and Lyde; with both which it is now united, and all three go under the common denomination of Thurgarton a Lee hundred.

IN doomsday book it appears that Southwell was even then a place of some importance, that the Archbishop of York had a considerable property there, and that the church was endowed with prebends.†

* HOVEDEN'S Annals, Pars posterior.

† VID App. No 2. I presume it is almost unnecessary to give my reader much information respecting the date, or purpose, of this work, called doomsday book; for such, however, as are unacquainted with its contents, let the following account, from Walter Hemingford's Chronicle suffice. "Anno Domini M. lxxxvi, Wilhelmus Rex fecit describi omnem Angliam quantum scilicet

IN the king's library, British museum, is another valuation of Southwell, taken in the reign of Henry VIII.* By that, which is minute in its description of the property belonging to the archbishop and the church, we are enabled, in a great measure, to ascertain the changes, which this place has undergone since the reformation. If we except those occasioned by the dilapidations of the civil wars in the last century, they are not so numerous as might have been expected.

“THE scite of the town of Southwell is divided into two parts,” says Thoroton, “the Burgage, now contracted into Burridge; † and “the Prebendage: the former comprises all that part of the town “between the market-place and the river Greet; the latter compre- “hends the church and its property.” ‡

THIS account of the division of the town into two parts is nearly correct at this day; but, if it were intended to insinuate that, in the

“*terræ Quisque Baronum suorum possidebat, Quot feodatos Milites, Quot Carrucos, Quot Villanos, Quot Animalia, & quantum vivæ pecuniæ Quisque haberet in omni regno suo, a magno usque ad minimum, et quantum redditus quæque possessio reddere poterat.*” One term, indeed, frequently occurs in Domesday book, which may want some explication to those who are disposed to consult it. *Geldum* or *Geldæ* (for it is written indifferently both) is the word I mean. In Spelman's Glossary it is thus rendered. “*Geldum,*” says he, “*plerumque occurrit pro Danegeldo. Danegeldum, tributum Anglis indictum ob pæandos Danos.*” This word, like many others, soon outgrew its original meaning. At first, we see, it was a tax levied for the purpose of paying a tribute to the Danes, to buy them off from committing depredations on this country. The frequency of their visits made this, after some time, an annual impost; of which our kings taking advantage, when the invasion of the Danes was a thing no longer remembered, it came at length to signify nothing more than an annual tax. The name, says Spelman, ceased about the reign of Stephen, when the Norman appellation of *tallagium* succeeded.

* VID. App. No. 3.

† BURRIDGE I conceive not to be a contraction of Burgage, as generally supposed, but of Burg and ridge, signifying nothing more than tower hill. Of this we have many instances, especially in the northern parts of the kingdom, as Penman-rigg, Rastell-rigg, and various others, to be found in topographical books.

‡ VID. Thoroton's Antiq. of Nottinghamshire.

portion denominated the prebendage, no other property interfered with that of the church and its members, it is no longer a description suited to the circumstances of the place. There is good reason, indeed, to believe, that the whole of this division was once the property of the archbishop, the chapter, and the individual prebendaries; but some parts have been, at different periods, purloined from them, whenever the public convulsions of the times, aided by the rapacity of the tenant, afforded an opportunity to defraud the church of its possessions. The other division of the town, called by Thoroton the burgage, is certainly much reduced in size, and population, from what it was in former times. The occasion of its destruction, and the period of that event taking place, are equally buried in obscurity; but the foundations of a whole street, running in a direction from east to west, may still be traced in this part of the town, where there is no other vestige of habitations.

ALTHOUGH not directly asserted, it may be inferred, from what Thoroton says, that he meant to insinuate the very *modern* origin of the term burgage, which has been appropriated to one division of the town of Southwell; and that it was only designed to distinguish that part from the property of the church, or prebendage. Thoroton was an industrious compiler, and an able genealogist; but he was a moderate scholar, and no etymologist. The eminence under consideration there can be little or no question was the Roman burgus, or camp; a situation particularly adapted to the purpose, and, as is already noticed, in a direction to correspond with their other encampments in its vicinity. That no doubt, however, may remain on this part of the subject, any one used to explore antiquities of this sort, will find little difficulty in tracing, even at this day, the direction of the Roman fossa through about three-fourths of an

ellipse.* The remaining part is obliterated by buildings; and other improvements of modern date. In the lower part of the town, where coins, and other Roman antiquities, have frequently been discovered, were probably the *villæ* of their commanders and great men; luxuries, which always accompanied a permanent station. In this way of deriving the name of burgage, some appropriate meaning is attainable; in the other, even with the assistance of a strange perversion of the term burgage, scarcely any. A meaning too, which receives the strongest sanction of probability from the relative situation of the place, from analogical reasoning, and from the testimony of recent discoveries. If there be not any very material error in the progress of the foregoing deductions, we shall have proceeded no inconsiderable way in ascertaining almost every camp, and every station, of size or consequence, as well from their capital city of Lindum, as from their sea-port, to Ad Pontem; and again from that place, as well to Nottingham, as to Mansfield.

FROM Gainsborough (Gains-burg) we come first to Little-burg (Agelocum,) secondly to Fled-burg, then to Burg or Brough (simply so called, by way of eminence, or from some other peculiar cause) next, through Langford or Landford, to the bridge at Winthorp, to Mickle Burg, then to Burg Ad Pontem; thence, in the way to Nottingham, to Wood Burg; in the road to Mansfield, through Combes, to Burg hill (Bury hill being evidently a mere corruption of Burg hill.)†

* THE annexed engraving will best illustrate this position. I shall have occasion, in another part of this work, to observe, at large, on the subject of Roman encampments in general; for the present let it suffice to remark that they were, almost without an exception, of some regular figure: a circle, an ellipse, a square, or, at least, paralellogrammic.

† GAINSBURG requires no comment, being the mouth of the Trent which the Romans are so generally known to have navigated; but of this more hereafter.

THE vicinity of these several burgs, or fortified stations, passing over eminences through a country generally flat, a country, in which the

THAT Little-borough is the Agelocum of the Romans seems to have been long a settled point among antiquaries. Vid. Camden's Brit. Edit. Gough.

BURG or Brugh is, at least, as universally admitted to have been a Roman station of some sort or other. Langford or Landford has never been taken notice of by writers on this subject, but the interval from Brugh to the next supposed station, Mickleburg, is so much greater than between any other two ascertained stations on this road, that I have been induced to look for another intermediate one, and have little doubt but that at the very point where, from comparative distance, one might expect to find the scite of a burgus, one presents itself. The place I allude to lies almost exactly equi-distant from Brugh, and the newly discovered bridge at Winthorp, and in a direct line between the two. It is at a considerable distance from any town, at the extremity of a large enclosure in the occupation of a Mr. Jonathan Preston. One immense artificial mound, with several smaller ones, carrying the appearance of barrows, and surrounded by very wide and deep fosses, bespeak an encampment of some sort. History, both written and traditional being silent on the origin of these appearances, conjecture so reasonable, and supported by such visible testimony, is, at least, fairly admissible.

BETWEEN the river Trent (over which I have supposed the Romans to have had a bridge near the village of Winthorp) and the next station, Mickleborough, lie two villages of the names of Kelham and Averham. A conversation on the subject of these pages with that accomplished linguist, and observant traveller Sir Richard Sutton, Bart, of this county, produced the following extraordinary observations on the names of those two places, which I gladly seize this opportunity of inserting, as containing matter of the highest importance to etymological inquiries of this kind.

"KELHEIM, for so is the word spelt in German, is situated on the Danube in Bavaria, and signifies
 "a place in a bottom or hollow. I cannot exactly recollect the situation of Averheim, nor can I find
 "it in my maps, but I am as positive as I can be of any thing which depends on a recollection of some
 "years standing, that there is such a place very near the former. Its signification in German is a place
 "of meadows. If I mistake not, there is also an island of that name in the Rhine near Strasburg.
 "About Kelheim however I cannot be mistaken: it is a very considerable place, and is to be found in
 "every map of that country. It might be matter of great entertainment to observe how many English
 "names of towns terminating in ham, thorp, spring, bourn, bridge, field, ford, beck, hurst, house, holt,
 "holm, sted, &c. &c. have their correspondent ones both in sound and meaning in German.
 "Among the rest occur Hildesheim, Hildesham; Baberheim, Baberham; Ocksonfurth, Oxenford,
 "and by corruption Oxford; Schweinfurth, Swinford; Mansfeld, Mansfield; Neustadt, Newstead;
 "Hockeim, Higham; Langfurth, Langford; and many others. The very common termination *by*
 "is Danish, meaning a habitation, and prevails principally in those parts of England which were settled
 "by the Danes. *Worth*, which is no uncommon termination, seems to have no particular meaning in
 "English: it answers to Werth or Werder in German, and in that language signifies a *river island*.
 "Thus Donawerth is on the Danube, Kayserwerth on the Rhine."

Romans are known to have resided, in which numerous remains of their grandeur have been discovered; and moreover, all of them situated exactly as we should conclude, from analogical observation, the Romans would have fixed their camps, mutually give and receive such reciprocal support and illustration, as nearly converts conjecture into certainty; and ascertains, almost beyond controversy, the advanced state of Roman communications in Britain.

AFTER what has been premised, the annexed map will best illustrate the different positions here laid down.* As a greater extent of country however, is comprised in it, than has been the subject of discussion in the few preceding pages; and, as it involves several postulata that have not hitherto been noticed, it requires some explanatory observations. To those who have been habituated to antiquarian pursuits the map will carry its own illustration, but from those who have not made these sorts of subjects their study, I claim the admission of three axioms:

FIRST, wherever castor, or chester, or cester, compose the whole, or any part of the name of a town, † there it must be admitted has been a permanent Roman station; those being nothing more than

* IF any doubt remain on the mind of the reader with respect to the principal object of this investigation, permit me to add (though somewhat prematurely as far as respects Newark) the weight of no mean authority on such a subject. That correct and celebrated antiquary, Hayman Rooke, having been consulted on the opinions delivered in the different parts of this work thus addresses the author of them. "I think," writes he, "had there been a doubt, you have incontestibly proved the Roman origin of Newark: the situation of the castle, and its vicinity to many Roman roads confirm all your conjectures. One of these goes from Newark to the forest of Shirewood through part of Southwell, leaving Norwood park on the left hand, and Kirklington on the right. It then enters the forest where great part of it has been destroyed, but it seems to appear again near Rainworth water; this was the old Mansfield road, and it has formerly been called the street, which appellation proves it to have been a Roman road." Also vid. Rooke's Sketch of Shirewood Forest, 1799.

† As Wor-cester, Leicester, Godman-chester, Casterton, and Chesterfield.

translations, or rather imitations, of the Latin word *castrum* (varied according to the provincial dialect of each district) and adopted by the successors of the Romans in this island.

SECONDLY, wherever *burg*, *borough*, *barrow*, or *bury*, compose the whole, or any part of the name of a place,* it must be admitted there has been a summer camp, or an exploratory camp, or at least some inferior fortified station of the Romans; these being all produced in a similar manner, and with similar variations, from the Latin word *burgus*, as has been before observed.

THIRDLY, wherever *foss*, or *street*, compose a part of the name of any place, there it must be admitted has been a Roman road. † *Foss* being the Latin *fossa*, and *street* answering to the Latin *stratum*, signifying a paved causeway, the peculiar characteristick of the Roman military ways, which were distinguished from the common roads of the country by this appellation. ‡

THE map comprises the principal Roman military ways from Stamford and Verometum south, to the Humber north. Those who will consult Horsley, Stukely, and Camden, will be satisfied how

* As Gains-borough, Borough-bridge, Barrow-field, Little-bury, and Brough.

† As Fos-ton, Foss-dyke, Foss-brook; Chester-le-street, Stone-street, Watling-street.

‡ SOME lexicographers derive this word from a Danish one, and some from the Italian word *strada*. The latter of these derivations requires no comment, if the word *street* be as old as the time of the Saxons in Britain. Strait it should seem was the pure original word, and *strete*, or, as we spell it, *street* the very easy and probable corruption of it. There is so striking a similarity indeed among most of the languages of Europe in the words carrying this particular signification, as evidently proves them all to have been derived from some common source, whatever that might be. The Latin *stratum* it has been observed signified a paved causeway, strictly so called. It is used in that sense by many Latin authors, especially by Livy and Virgil. *Strete* was the Saxon translation of it, *straet* the Dutch, *straede* the Danish, and *strada* the Italian.

many of the places here noticed as Roman stations, have been incontrovertibly proved so to have been by those authors. Having ascertained that fact, they will, I trust, scarcely refuse their assent to my positions respecting the others. The distances between the known large stations demand intermediate small ones.* Some of those have been determined by the discovery of Roman remains. I have endeavored, and I hope not without success, to ascertain the situations of others. My principal guide in this inquiry has been the appearance of encampments. Appellations partaking of Roman words have not unfrequently directed my attention; and relative distances have afforded observations ancillary to the principal point of investigation.

THE town of Southwell is situated on a rising ground, in the midst of an amphitheatre of hills, which are extremely fertile, and, in general, well wooded. The soil, in this part of Nottinghamshire, is a rich clay; the water good; and the air, from the vicinity of the rapid river Trent, very pure. Under these circumstances, it is matter of no wonder that Southwell is famous for the longevity of its inhabitants; some remarkable instances of which will be hereafter recorded. It has three hamlets, two of which, Easthorpe and Westhorpe, are immediately contiguous to it. The third is Normanton, distant from it about half a mile. These hamlets had their respective chapels formerly, as will be more particularly noticed hereafter, in the discussion of antiquities. Southwell stands 14 miles north-east from

* "INVARIABLY on all Roman roads throughout England, tumuli or barrows are found on every eminence, (unless they have been since destroyed) and generally the two successive ones in sight of each other, (as the direction probably by which the engineer originally laid out the road) as well as at all those places where any vicinal road branched off from the great *street* or paved way to some dependent camp or inferior station; secondly all Roman roads are invariably in a straight line, except where they meet with some local impediment, such as a steep mountain, or a deep ravine, or where they bend out of their general direction, to approach or leave a station, or to throw off some vicinal road." Leman's Letter, Nicholson's History of Worcestershire.

Nottingham: nearly as many south-east from Mansfield; and 8 south-west from Newark. The little river Greet, celebrated for its red trout, runs by the side of the town, and falls into the Trent at 3 miles distance. One of the best markets in the county is holden here on a Saturday.

HAVING thus traced the history of the town of Southwell, with as much precision, as the obscurity of a very early origin will allow; and having made such observations on the fabrick of its church, as the peculiarity of its structure seemed to require, where the science of architecture was the subject of discussion, the foundation and fortunes of its establishment now claim some mention. In this sense, the church of Southwell may be said to have had many founders; and many patrons and benefactors, little inferior to founders. It seems universally agreed, by historians, that the honor of its first institution is to be attributed to the pious projector of York and Lincoln, Paulinus; the first archbishop of the north. His history, as given by all the authors on the subject, is, in substance, as follows.

GREGORY the Great, one of the very few Popes who have obtained that elevated situation, merely because their piety made them worthy to fill it, being extremely anxious to convert the Saxons, who were then the inhabitants of Britain, to christianity, sent Austin and several others as missionaries, to effect that desirable purpose. Austin met with more success than he expected. This he communicated to Gregory; who immediately, for the furtherance of his project, authorized him to erect several sees in the island, and to appoint bishops. Of these York was to take the first place. Here he was directed to fix a metropolitan, who was to have twelve suffragans. The pope's letter conferring this authority on Austin is preserved in Bede.*

* VID. App. No. 4.

AT this time Edwin the Great, a Pagan, was King of Northumberland. In the year 625, he took to wife Ethelburga, daughter of Ebauld, King of Kent; who had lately been converted to christianity. This lady, being a zealous convert, insisted on the exercise of her own religion, and the honorable support of such Christian divines, as she thought fit to bear her company. With this request the amorous monarch, at length, reluctantly complied. Paulinus, a man of piety and resolution, was the principal person of those she selected. The attractions of the queen, co-operating with the unaffected purity of the preacher, before two years had elapsed, made a convert of Edwin; and, on Easter-day, A. D. 627, this king, with most of his court, was baptized by the prelate in the city of York. Paulinus had previously been consecrated Archbishop of the North, by Justus, Archbishop of the South: he was now publicly installed by Edwin himself, and, soon after, received his pall from Honorius, who was, by this time, become pope. “Baptizatus igitur Rex Edwinus, primus omnium Regum Northanhymbrorum die sancto Paschæ, et multi cum eo in Ecclesiâ Sancti Petri Eboraci, quam ipse de ligno pro sede Episcopatus construxerat: mox tamen majorem incepit lapideam, quam sanctus Oswaldus Rex postea perfecit, et in eadem ecclesiâ dictum Paulinum Archiepiscopum Eboraci ordinavit, constituit, atque fecit,” says Bede. Honorius congratulated Edwin on his conversion, in an elaborate letter.*

THE death of Edwin in 633, in a battle with Cedwalla, king of the Britons, and Penda, king of the Mercians, (of whom Bede, and after him Henry of Huntingdon, say, “Penda Paganus, sed Cedwalla Pagano seivior”) obliged Paulinus to leave his diocese of York; but not till he had converted the Governor of Lincoln, with all his house,

* Vid. App. No. 5.

and built a church there for the worship of Christ, as also another at Southwell, which he dedicated to St. Mary the Virgin. After he quitted York, he was appointed, by the pope, to the see of Rochester; where christianity flourished under his protection till the year 644, when he departed this life, and was buried in the church, over which he had presided with so much piety and success.

THESE events are recorded at length in venerable Bede;* and he being a Saxon, and, therefore, intimately acquainted with the affairs of the kingdom, while under the dominion of his countrymen, we cannot appeal to better authority for the events of those days. Indeed the history of the early transactions, in the infancy of that religion he was so instrumental in propagating, rests almost wholly on his authority. For this reason the extracts from his works are copious in the appendix.

THE church of Southwell has suffered, perhaps, a greater fluctuation of fortune, than any religious foundation in the kingdom. From its first institution, in the year 627, to the reign of Henry VIII, we find it encouraged, and endowed, by the liberality of kings and princes, and most bountifully protected by the fostering hands of popes and prelates. Scarce a person, during that long period, was advanced to the see of York, but he made Southwell church the richer, or the more independent, for his promotion; and, of its own members, very few were long in the enjoyment of its offices and preferments, but they manifested their attachment, by some augmentation of its revenues. In the reign of Henry VIII, it experienced, for a short time, a fatal vicissitude; for we are told by Dugdale, and every writer on the subject, that, in the paroxysms of that monarch's religious

* Vid. App. No. 6:

frenzy, this church, among many others, became, more than once, the object of reformation; first, by the dissolution of its chauntries, and the expulsion of that order of its priests, about the year 1536; and, afterwards, by sharing in that general wreck of collegiate foundations, which prevailed in most parts of the kingdom. Indeed, the Archbishops of York, during the majority of Henry's reign, seem to have been not less willing than the monarch, to despoil this church of its property. In the year 1542, Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, among other revenues of the see, granted, by indenture, to the king, his manor of Southwell. Holgate, the immediate successor of Lee, alienated to the crown, and to his own relations, almost all the remaining archiepiscopal estates. Sixty and seven different manors are enumerated by the biographers of this prelate to have been thus surrendered by him; and, among them, are to be found most of those, which belonged to the see, in the right of its jurisdiction at Southwell. There is reason, however, to believe that, some few years afterwards, the splendor of this church was, on the whole, rather increased, than diminished, by the fluctuating councils of that unsteady monarch: for in the 34th year of his reign, it was declared, by act of parliament, to be the head, and mother church, of the town and county of Nottingham; and, some little time after this, "at the intercession of the gentry thereabouts," says Dugdale, "it was refounded, and re-endowed, by Henry;" but, most likely, principally at the instance of Archbishop Cranmer; who was a native of a part of Nottinghamshire, very little distant from Southwell, and was, at that time, in the meridian of his influence. What, in a great measure, tends to confirm this conjecture is, that, about the same time, many other cathedrals, and collegiate foundations, were endowed, and enriched, at his intercession; whereby the king, thus dividing with it a small share of the plunder he had got from the monasteries, purchased the good-will and approbation of his newly reformed church. There is

no doubt but that, on the dissolution of the monastic societies, it was Henry's intention to found several new bishopricks. In some few instances, he carried this intention into execution: Southwell presents one of them; and Richard Cox, D. D. afterwards Bishop of Ely, was appointed to the new erected see, in 1543. It does not appear that any revenues were absolutely appropriated to this bishoprick; and indeed, the projected establishment was so soon abandoned,* that it is probable the revenues of the societies, which had been dissolved *in*, and *about* the place, were not found sufficient to gratify the king's rapacity, and, at the same time to supply a provision for a bishop. Queen Elizabeth, in some statutes which she gave to this church, † recognizes its re-endowment in terms the most flattering to her father's memory, by calling him its founder. ‡ Soon after the accession of Edward VI, this chapter was again dissolved, among other collegiate foundations, and its prebendal, and other estates, granted to John Earl of Warwick, who afterwards became Duke of Northumberland: by him they were sold to John Beaumont, Master of the Rolls; but returning soon after to the crown by escheat, they were regranted to the rapacious favorite, Northumberland; in whose hands they remained till his attander in 1553. They once more reverted to the crown on this lord's execution, and Queen Mary restored them to the archbishop, and chapter, in as ample a manner, as they had before been holden;|| thereby in truth becoming another founder of this establishment.

A SUCCINCT history of this church is preserved on one of the large columns which support the great tower, still called Lee's pillar, from the name of the person who procured it to be inscribed. It is in the words following.

* IN the year following. † 27th year of her reign.

‡ THOROTON'S Antiq. of Nottinghamshire. || VID. The Records of the Chapter of Southwell.

Reges et Reginae erunt nutrices tuae.

Hanc

Collegiatam et Parochialem Ecclesiam

Religiosa Antiquitas

Fundavit.

<i>Rex Henricus 8.</i> <i>Illustrissimus.</i>	{ restauravit 1543. }	<i>Edwardo Lee Archiepiscopo</i> <i>Ebor. Piusimo.</i>	{ Petente }
<i>Reg Elizabetha</i> <i>Religiosissima.</i>	{ sancivit 1584. }	<i>Edwino Sandys Archiepisco-</i> <i>po Ebor. Dignissimo.</i>	{ Interce- dente }
<i>Monarcha Jacobus</i> <i>Præpotentissimus.</i>	{ stabilivit 1604. }	<i>Henrico Howard Comite</i> <i>Northamptoniensi Præ-</i> <i>nobilissimo.</i>	{ Mediante }

A Domino factum est istud:

Da gloriam Deo.

Honorem Regi.

Sint sicut Oreb & Zeb, Zebe & Salmana,
Qui dicunt possideamus Sanctuarium Dei.

Psal. 83. 11.

Det Deus hoc sanctum sanctis; sit semper Asylum
Exulis, Idolatras Sacrilegosque ruat.

Gervas Lee

In piam gratamque Mæcenatum memoriam

Posuit.

1608.

THE difficulties, under which this foundation labored, however, amidst such a fluctuation of fortune, were too great to make a mere restoration of its property sufficient for its re-establishment. Add to this, that the perfecting of the reformation, by Elizabeth, made some further interference of authority necessary. Accordingly, that queen, in the 27th year of her reign, ordained many regulations for the government of this body, and gave them an entire new code of laws.

These, with some occasional decrees of Archbishops of York, constitute, at this day, the *jus municipale* of this community. In the civil wars of the last century, the church of Southwell, with many others, suffered a temporary annihilation of its laws, and suspension of all its officers. But the greatest misfortune that befell it, in those unhappy times, was the loss of almost all its records; which were then destroyed by the parliament army.*

THE white book, as it is called, or ancient register of the church, escaped this general destruction, from the circumstance, as is believed, of its having been in the custody of the chapter, and not in that of the archbishop. For the library of his palace, being the general depository of records, and that palace becoming the residence of each party, as it happened to be victorious, during the civil wars, every thing that was there, became the plunder of one, or other, of the contending armies. Of this book further notice will be taken in its proper place: suffice it, for the present, to observe, that it contains the grants of most of the revenues belonging to this church, from a period very little posterior to the conquest, till near the end of the reign of Henry VIII. The last articles in it are three letters, addressed to the chapter (the two first mistakenly to the dean and chapter) from Sir Edward Northc, by the command of his Majesty. These letters are without date, but the title given to the writer of them, which is "Chauncellour of Augmentations," enables us to determine, with great exactness, when they were written.

ON the dissolution of monasteries, a new office was erected, entitled the *Treasurership* of Augmentations. Sir Edward Northc was the first person appointed to fill it, in 32d of Henry VIII. In the 36th

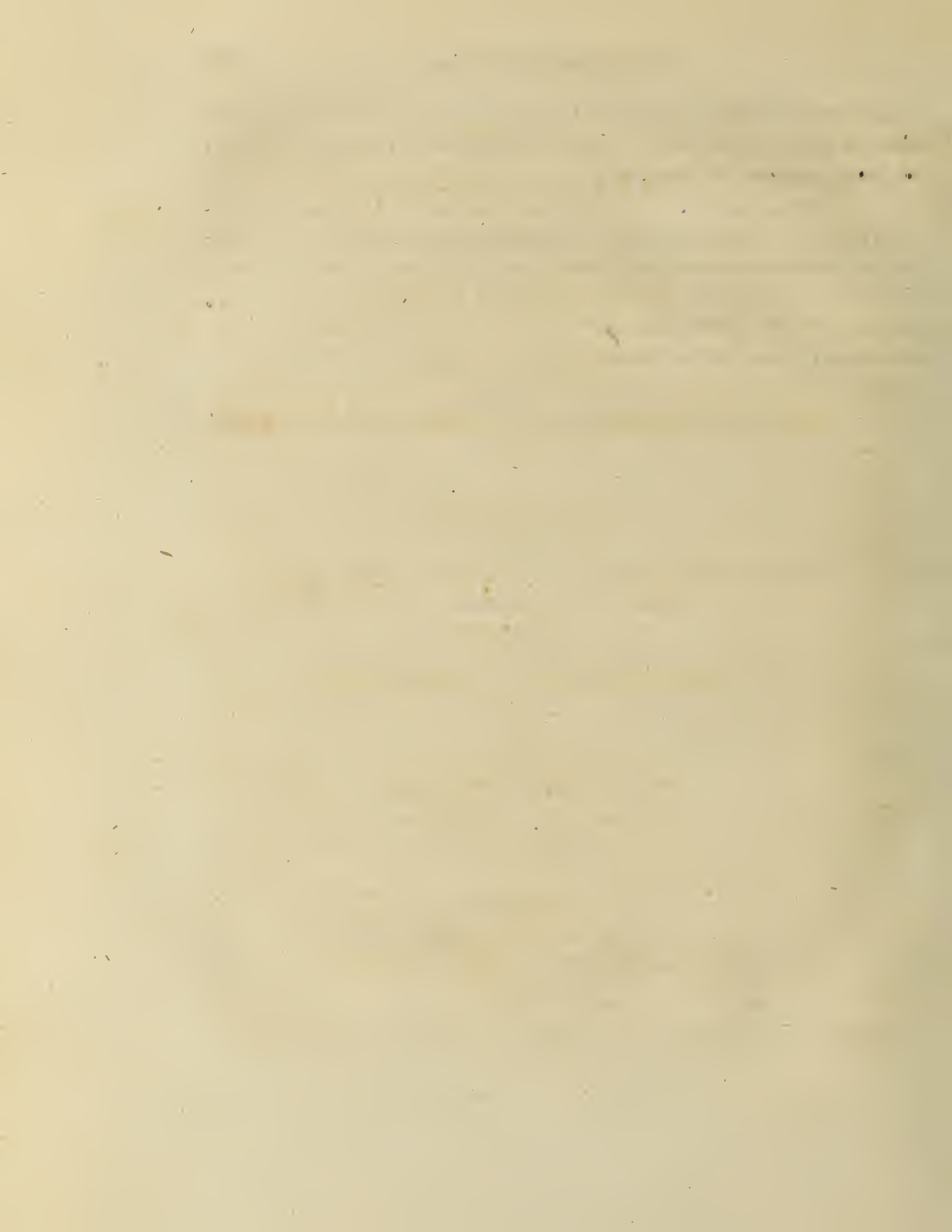
* So asserted by Walker, in a book of authority, called "The sufferings of the Clergy," published in 1714.

of the same king, he was made *Chancellor* of Augmentations, which office he enjoyed four years. So writes one of his posterity, who is the historiographer of the family.*

THESE letters are inserted in the appendix, † and exhibit a disgraceful contest between the monarch, and the members of the church itself, for despoiling it of all its moveable effects; some of which, according to the description given in these letters, must have been extremely curious and valuable.

* VID. North's examen. † VID. App. No. 7.

END OF THE FIRST PART.



PART 2. VOL. 1.



ANTIQUITIES,
HISTORICAL,
ARCHITECTURAL, CHOROGRAPHICAL,
AND
ITINERARY,

IN NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, AND THE ADJACENT COUNTIES.

INTERSPERSED WITH

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES.

BY

WILLIAM DICKINSON, Esq.

Mark :

PRINTED BY HOLT & HAGE,
FOR CADELL & DAVIES, STRAND, LONDON.

1803.

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THE
CONSTITUTION
OF THE
CHURCH OF SOUTHWELL;

ITS REVENUES, AND SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PLACES
FROM WHICH THEY ARISE.

CHAP. IV.

—(O)—

IT may be difficult to determine, with precision, what was the constitution of the church of Southwell, at the time of its original foundation; with how many prebends it was endowed; or in what manner and proportion their revenues were distributed. It appears, however, that, about the latter end of the reign of William I, there were at least ten prebends; viz. those of Woodborough, Normanton, North Muskham, South Muskham, the Sacrista, two of Oxton, and three of Norwell.*

* VID. the Registrum Album, or White Book, as it is called; a book of great authority, as well as very curious for its antiquity and contents, which is in the hands of the chapter of Southwell. It determines, with certainty, the respective times of foundation of the other six prebends, making in all sixteen, as they remain at this day. Of the value of this book, to those who are interested in the history of Southwell, too much can scarcely be said. It is only matter of surprise that Thoroton, and others who have gone before me, have not made more use of its contents. It comprises a very curious collection of charters and grants from popes, kings, and other persons, to the archbishops of York, and church of Southwell, beginning, as has been before noticed, from a period very little posterior to the conquest, and continuing to the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. To this, more than all other authorities, I am indebted for information.

IN Dugdale's History of the Church of Southwell, published in 1716, it is said, "This church had anciently a dean, an archdeacon, and other dignitaries, but on the new establishment hath only sixteen prebends, six vicars choral, an organist, six singing men, five choristers, and one vergier." I find no mention made of a dean, or an archdeacon, in any other place, nor is any authority cited for it by Dugdale.

IN the office of augmentations, is an estimate of Southwell college, taken in the first year of Edward VI. This record states King Edgar to have been the founder of its church; that it consisted of sixteen prebends, and as many vicars; and the valuation is made as follows:

	Clear yearly value.		
	£.	s.	d.
Prebend of Oxton	23	9	4
Altera Prebenda de Oxton	24	9	9
Sacrist or Sexton's Preb.	4	15	10
Woodborough	10	3	5
Overhall in Norwell	50	0	0
Palace Hall in Norwell . .	29	8	11 $\frac{1}{4}$
3d Prebend in Norwell . .	9	3	4
Dunham	23	17	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
North Muskham	31	14	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
South Muskham	13	11	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Halton alias Halloughton . .	5	10	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Beckingham	19	10	0
Normanton	20	0	0
Eton	2	0	0
Rampton	16	7	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
North Leverton	5	0	0
16 Vicars Choral	124	10	5

ROGER THURSTAN, Archbishop of York, founded three of the prebends here: one of the church of Dunham, given, for that purpose, by King Henry I; another of the churches of North Leverton and Beckingham, which the same king confirmed; and a third of lands in Halloughton, confirmed by King Henry II.*

PAVIA, daughter of Nigellus de Rampton, with the consent of her son, not long after, gave the church of Rampton with its appurtenances, to found another prebend. †

JOHN, Archbishop of York, in the year 1289, made another of the church of Eton. ‡

IN the year 1291, William Rutherford, Prebendary of Beckingham, resigning his prebend for that purpose, the Archbishop of York, at his request, and with the consent of the chapters of York and Southwell, ordained the church of North Leverton, before a part of the prebend of Beckingham, to be a distinct one of itself, and the prebendary to have his stall in the choir, on the north side, next that of the Sacrist, and his place in the chapter-house duly assigned by the chapter, and to have and pay his vicar choral, as the other canons used; and the said William Rutherford to enjoy Beckingham, so divided, during his time. §

Of these sixteen prebends the Archbishop of York is sole patron. There nominal value is as follows. ||

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Norwell Overhall	48	1	3	Normanton	22	6	0
Norwell Palace Hall	27	19	7	Halloughton	8	17	6
Norwell tertia pars	5	0	2½	Eton	2	11	3

* REGISTRUM Album. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid. || Liber Regis.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
South Muskham	13	4	7	Rampton	15	17	11
North Muskham	32	5	0	Woodborough	9	17	11
Oxton prima pars	22	19	7	Sacrista	1	2	6
Oxton altera pars	24	10	0	Beckingham	16	15	10
Dunham	23	11	4	North Leverton	5	0	0

MANY, and great, privileges were, very early, granted to this church, by several kings, archbishops, and chapters of York; which Pope Alexander III, in the twelfth year of his pontificate, viz. 1171, refers to in his bull, wherein he confirmed to the canons of the church of Saint Mary of Southwell, "their ancient liberties and customs, to wit, the same which the church of York had of old, and were known to have then; and that the churches of the prebends, and also those belonging to the chapter, should be free from episcopal jurisdiction, and that they might institute fit vicars in them, without any contradiction, as the said archbishops and chapters of York ever suffered them and their predecessors to do."* He likewise granted to them, as was of long custom observed, and also by the said pope approved, "that both the clergy and laity of the county of Nottingham should, at the feast of pentecost, come to their church, with solemn procession; and that every year, according to the old and rational usage of that church, a synod should there be celebrated, and that thither the chrisma should be brought by the deans of the county from the church of York, to be thence distributed through the other churches," &c.†

THERE appears to have been a very warm dispute formerly between the churches of York and Southwell, respecting this pentecostal procession, which could not be terminated without an appeal to the pope. His bull, at length, settled the dispute, and appeased the contending parties; as appears among the rest of the instruments of Innocent III.‡

* Regist. Album. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

THIS synod continued to be holden, till a few years ago; when it was abolished by the mere fiat of Drummond, then Archbishop of York. How far he was empowered thus to alter the constitution of the church, may be a matter of great doubt; but, as the institution abolished was become, since the reformation, an useless ceremony, and attended with some trouble to the officers of the church, the mandate of the archbishop received a very ready obedience.

OF the pentecostal offerings, the tenth part is allotted to the Sacrista prebend, and the remainder is divided into two equal portions; one of which belongs to the prebend of Normanton, and the other is to be applied to the commons of the resident canon. The particular sums to be paid by each parish may be thus enumerated.

IN THE DEANERY OF NOTTINGHAM.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Arnal	2	0	Greasley	2	2
Ansley	1	4	Gonaldson	1	4
Addenburgh	1	4	Gedling	3	4
Bramcote	0	6	Hucknal	1	6
Bulcote	0	9	Hoveringham	1	1
Bulwell	0	10	Kirkby in Ashfield	1	8
Burton Jorce	0	10	Loudham	2	4
Bilborough	0	6	Lambley	1	4
Basford	1	1	Linby	0	9
Beeston	1	6	Lenton	2	0
Colwick	0	8	Mansfield	4	8
Cossall	0	7	Mansfield Woodhouse	2	6
Eastwood	1	2	Nottingham	13	4
Eperston	2	6	Nuttal	1	0

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Paplewick	1	0	Sutton in Ashfield	2	0
Radford	1	1	Skegby	0	8
Snenton	0	8	Teversal	1	3
Selston	2	0	Thurgarton	1	3
Stapleford	1	5	Trowel	1	2
Strelley	0	8	Wollaton	1	3
			Total	<u>£ 3</u>	<u>9 0</u>



DEANERY OF BINGHAM.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Adbolton	0	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	Granby	1	6
Bingham	4	8	Hickling	1	6
Bridgeford	0	10	Hawksworth	1	0
Bridgeford on the Hill	1	6	Holme Pierpont	1	8
Barton	1	6	Kynalton	1	6
Boney cum Bradmare	2	8	Kingston	0	8
Broughton	0	10	Kayworth	1	0
Carcolston	1	2	Kneeton	0	8
Cortlingstock	0	7	Langar	1	2
Cotgrave	1	8	Leak Major	1	4
Colston Basset	1	6	Leak Minor	0	8
Clifton cum Clapton	1	6	Normanton	0	10
Crophill Butler	1	0	Orston	1	10
Edwalton	0	6	Owthorpe	1	0
Elton	1	0	Plumtree cum Clipston	1	3
Flintham	2	2	Ratcliff upon Sore	0	8
Gotham	1	1	Ratcliff upon Trent	2	0

CHURCH OF SOUTHWELL.

123

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Rempston	0	7	Thoroton	0	10
Ruddington	1	4	Thrumpton	0	10
Stanford	0	9	Tithby	0	6
Screveton	1	2	Tollerton	1	1
Saxendale	0	6	Wilford	1	6
Scarrington	0	8	Wisaw	1	1
Sutton Bonnington	1	1	Widmerpole	1	2
Shelford	1	8	Willoughby	1	1
Stanton	0	5	Whatton	1	5
			Total	<u>£ 3</u>	<u>2 4$\frac{1}{4}$</u>

DEANERY OF NEWARK.

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Averham	2	0	Hawton	1	3
Balderton	2	0	Kilvington	0	8
Barneby	2	0	Kneesal	2	0
Caunton	0	10	Kelham	1	4
Crumwell	1	10	Laxton	3	0
Clifton	4	0	Malbeck	1	6
Cottam	0	10	Normanton upon Trent	1	8
Coddington	2	0	Newark	13	4
Eykring	2	0	Collingham N.	2	0
Elston	1	2	Collingham S.	1	8
Faringdon	3	0	Ossington	1	4
Fledborough	0	7	Rolleston	2	8
Gretton	2	0	Staunton	0	6
Hockerton	1	0	Sibthorpe	0	9

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Shelton	0	8	Thorney	1	0
Sutton upon Trent	1	2	Thorpe	0	5
Stoke	1	6	Winckburne	0	9
Scarle cum Beisthorpe	2	8	Weston	2	0
Sierston	1	0	Winthorpe	0	8
			Total	<u>£ 3</u>	<u>16 7</u>

DEANERY OF RETFORD.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Allerton	1	0	Edwinstow cum Budby	2	8
Askham	1	0	East Markham cum }	3	4
Bottom Sal	0	10	Drayton }		
Bevercotes	0	8	Everton	1	4
Blith cum Bawtry and }	4	4	Egmanton	1	10
Austerfield }			Finningley	0	8
Burton	0	8	Gamston	1	4
Babworth	0	8	Gringley	1	2
Bilsthorpe	1	4	Grove	1	2
Boughton	0	8	Harworth	1	0
Clayworth	1	4	Headon	2	0
Cuckney	1	0	Kirketon	0	9
Carberton	0	8	Little Markham	1	0
Carlton	1	6	Littlebro'	0	7
Clipstone	1	4	Laneham	1	8
Drayton Magna	1	8	Misterton	2	0
East Retford	2	0	Mattersay	1	0
Elkesley	1	4	Missen	0	10

CHURCH OF SOUTHWELL.

125

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
North Wheatley	1	10	Tuxford	3	0
Ordsal	1	4	Creswell	0	10
Rossington	1	0	Walkeringham	1	0
Saundby	1	0	Walesby	0	10
Stokeham	0	6	Welley	1	0
Sutton cum Lound	1	8	Warsop	2	4
South Leverton	1	6	West Retford	1	4
Sturton	1	8	Worksop	3	0
			Total	<u>£ 3</u>	<u>10 2</u>

SOUTHWELL JURISDICTION.

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Beckingham	2	0	Kirklington	1	6
Bleasby cum Gourton and Gipsmere }	1	9	Leverton N.	1	0
Blidworth	1	2	Muskham N.	1	0
Cropwell Bishop	1	4	Muskham S.	1	0
Calverton	1	0	Morton	1	0
Dunham	1	7	Norwell	1	6
Darlton	1	0	Oxton	1	2
Edingley	1	6	Rampton	1	8
Eaton	0	10	Ragnet	1	6
Farnsfield	2	0	Southwell	5	0
Halloughton	0	10	Upton	3	0
Halam	1	6	Wheatley S.	0	8
			Woodborough	1	8
			Total	<u>£ 2</u>	<u>0 6</u>

	£.	s.	d.
Nottingham Deanery	3	9	0
Bingham Deanery	3	2	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
Newark Deanery	3	16	7
Retford Deancry	3	10	2
Southwell Jurisdiction	2	0	6
Total	£ 15	18	7 $\frac{1}{4}$

KING HENRY I, being at Nottingham; granted to Archbishop Thomas "all his possessions and customs, over all his lands in Nottinghamshire, and especially over those which belong to the church of St. Mary of Suell, as he held them better in the time of his brother (William Rufus); and, if any claimed upon the men, which remained on those lands, they should do such right as the canons of St. Peter of York, and in such place; and, if, upon this, any should do injury, he should make the amends to the king himself."*

THE privileges of the church of Southwell, in most of the charters of confirmation, both by regal, and apostolical, authority, are declared to be the same as those enjoyed by the canons of St. Peter of York; it is, therefore, necessary to see what were the privileges of that church, in early times. In the charter of confirmation of Henry I, they were particularly specified, and they are almost verbatim recited in an instrument of the chapter of York declaring the freedom and customs of their church, granted by King Athelstan, carefully observed by his successors, and confirmed by apostolical authority.† In the year 1106, complaint was made to the king, that the rights of this body were very much infringed by the sheriff of Yorkshire; upon

* Regist. Album. † Ibid.

which, Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, with Ralph Basset, Geoffrey Ridel, Ranulph le Meschines, and Peter de Valoniis, were sent to York, that they might inquire into the said customs and privileges of the church of St. Peter. These five persons called to their aid twelve of the principal men of the county, administered to them an oath, whereby they were enjoined to inquire, upon the faith they owed to the king, what were these said customs and privileges. Hereupon it was testified, “that all the land belonging to the prebends of the church of St. Peter was so quiet and free, that neither the king’s officer, nor any other, could have law, nor take a distress there, till the canon of that prebend was first required: and, if he refused, the dean should set a day, and do right at the church door. And if any person whatsoever shall take and detain any man, though guilty, and convict of any crime or wickedness whatever, from within the porch, he shall always be adjudged to make amends by six hundredths; if from within the church, by twelve; if from within the choir, by eighteen; every hundredth containing six pounds, and for every the said faults, or any, shall be enjoined penance, as for sacrilege. But if any should be so mad, and instigated by the devil, as to presume to take one from the stone-chair, by the altar, which the English call frithstol, that is, the chair of peace, for so wicked a sacrilege no judgment or sum of money can atone.” Many inferior privileges are then enumerated, as those of sac, soc, toll, with several others, in terms almost too barbarous for modern comprehension.

KING STEPHEN, by his precept, dated at York, directed to William Peverell, and the sheriff of Nottinghamshire and his ministers, commanded, “that the canons of St. Mary of Suwell should have the woods of their prebends in their own hands and custody, and thence

take what they should need, as in King Henry's time, and that his foresters be forbidden to take or sell any thing there."*

SUCCEEDING monarchs, particularly Henry II, King Richard, King John, and King Henry III, gave to the archbishops of York, and to the church of Southwell, several charters and confirmations of their privileges within the forest of Shirewood.†—But more of these matters in a subsequent chapter.

AMONG the transactions of the reign of Henry III, is a memorandum of a dispute between the chapter of Southwell and the prior of St. Catherines, respecting the presentation of a scholar in the grammar school of Newark. In this memorandum it is noticed, that the prebendary of Normanton for the time being, as chancellor of the church of Southwell, has the collation to all the grammar schools in the archdeaconry of Nottingham, in right of his prebend, and that no agreement he may have made, respecting that subject, will bind his successors.‡

IN the time of Edward III, the constitution of this church seems to have received a very firm establishment, by a royal confirmation of all its privileges and immunities, and very considerable aggrandisement in power and authority. During the whole of this reign, and that of Richard II, several pleas, before the king at Westminster, occur, touching the rights of the chapter, or those of the respective prebendaries. In all these, without exception, they appear to have been victorious; for there always follows a writ of allowance. In the third year of the reign of Edward, are pleas of Quo Warranto, before the

* Vid. Regist. Album. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

justices itinerant, in which the chapter claim view of frank-pledge, assize of bread and beer, and other such privileges, among the tenants of the church.*

IN the fifth year of the same reign, are pleas at Westminster, to the same purport, from the chapter, and from most of the prebendaries also, on their own respective prebends. In all these judgment is given for the church. In the fifteenth of the same King, an inquisition was taken upon certain customs, touching the tenants of the chapter, before the sheriff of Nottingham, by John de Kynesale and others, who said, upon their oaths, that all the prebends of Southwell, and the tenants of the same, are free from pontage, and ought not to be liable to scot and lot. In the 46th year of the same king, is a mandate to Adam de Everyngham and the other justices, for the preservation of the assize of bread and beer, and the privilege of surveying weights and measures in Southwell, Norwell, the two Muskhams, Calneton, Oxton, Calverton, Woodborough, Crophill, Blythworth, Halton, Beckingham, Dunham, Halam, Edyngly, and Normanton; which this mandate recites to have been allowed them before, in the time of Edward II. †

IN the reign of Richard II, so early as the fifth year, is a charter of Inspeximus, confirming all the privileges this church had ever enjoyed, and a writ of allowance of the same.

THE next instrument is a writ of allowance of the same king, respecting the assize of bread and beer claimed by the chapter. ‡

FROM this period, the members of this church seem to have enjoyed their privileges without interruption; for in the White Book, is a

* Vid. Regist. Album. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

regular account of transactions, which passed almost every year, at their courts. The only one which seems worthy of record is, in the reign of Henry IV, a presentment made, that Robert Newton, who held of the chapter certain lands in Newton near Bingham, was dead, and that his son and heir, being under age, had been taken out of the country by his friends, in prejudice to the chapter's right of wardship. This entry claimed notice, only because it recognizes one of the rights of the chapter, no where else mentioned.

THE substance of these pleas, as they are recorded in the White Book.

Pleas of Quo Warranto, before the justices itinerant in the county of Nottingham, third year of Edward III.

It is presented that the chapter of Southwell hath view of frank-pledge of all their tenants in Southwell, Northwell, South Muskham; North Muskham, Calneton, Oxtun, Calverton, Woodborough, Crop-hill, Blythworth, Halton, Beckingham, Dunham, Halam, Edyngley, and Normanton, but upon what ground, or how long they have had that privilege is not known: the chapter was also summoned to answer upon what ground they claimed to have assize of bread and beer of their tenants in sundry places, who answered, that they had enjoyed that privilege time out of mind, in right of their church.

Pleas before the king at Westminster, fifth year of Edward III.

IN these the chapter claim to have a view of frank-pledge, and all things thereto belonging in Southwell, Halam, and Newton, to be holden twice a year at Southwell, likewise view of frank-pledge in Edyngley twice a year, &c. &c. And on the morrow of our Lord's ascension the chapter came by their attorney, and in like manner

Robert Woodhouse, and the other prebendaries by their attorney, and said, that these their privileges had been enjoyed by them time out of mind. It was therefore ordered, that the rolls should be searched, and on the morrow of St. John the Baptist, came Adam Fincham for the king, as also the chapter of Southwell and prebendaries thereof, before certain jurors, who, upon their oath, said, that the chapter and prebendaries aforesaid had, time out of mind, respectively enjoyed frank-pledge, &c. and all things appertaining thereto, wherefore judgment was given for the chapter; and it was thereupon adjudged, that the justices in eyre were to hear and determine all pleas touching the chapter, canons, their tenants and servants, at the south door of the church (except pleas of the crown, which they were to hear and determine at the house of any of the canons out of the sanctuary); also that the chapter had view of frank-pledge of all their tenants in Southwell, Norwell, the two Muskhams, Calneton, Oxtun, Calverton, Woodborough, Crophill, Blytheworth, Halloughton, Beckingham, Dunham, Halam, Edingley, and Normanton; and their courtleet, holden twice every year at Southwell, for their tenants residing in Southwell, Halam, and Newton; and likewise that, holden in like manner, for Edingley.

ROBERT WOODHOUSE, Prebendary of Norwell, also had the like view of all his tenants in Norwell, Woodhouse, Willoughby, and Middlethorpe, kept twice in a year at Norwell, and waif in the said towns.

ROBERT de NOTTINGHAM, Prebendary of Oxtun and Crophill, had the like of his in Oxtun, Blytheworth, Calverton, Woodborough, and Crophill and Hickling, as also waif in the same.

LAMBERT de TRIKINGHAM, Prebendary of Halghton or Haloughton, had the like also of his there.

ROBERT de BRIDELINGTON, Prebendary of Woodborough, the like of his in Woodborough and Edingley.

WILLIAM de BARNEBY, Prebendary of Beckingham, the like of his in Southwell and Edingley, holden twice a year at each of those places.

WILLIAM de NEWARK, Prebendary of North Muskham, had the like of his in North Muskham, Calneton, South Muskham, North Carleton, Normanton by Southwell, to be holden twice in a year at North Muskham, with waif in the same.

THOMAS de ST. ALBANO, Prebendary of Dunham, had the like of his in Dunham, Darlton, Wymton, Ragenhull, kept twice a year at Dunham.

JOHN de SANDALE, Prebendary of Normanton, had the same of his in Southwell and Normanton, to be kept twice a year at Southwell.

THE courts of the respective prebendaries were subject to the general one of the chapter, and thither causes upon error, "and for other lawful reason," as the White Book expresses it, were removed and determined.

AMONG the many curiosities preserved in the same repository, there is one of singular import, bearing date the fifth of Richard II, under the title of Laudable Customs, which will be found hereafter in its proper place.*

THE revenues of the church were divided into five parts. The first was appropriated to the canons resident, which portion was called

* Vid. App. No. 8.

the commons of the church; the second to the several respective prebendaries; the third to the vicars choral; the fourth to the chauntry priests, who had, beside these estates in common, the endowments of the respective altars which they served; the fifth part was allotted to the fabrick, and called, *our lady's land*.*

WHICH were the specific estates originally appropriated to these several purposes (excepting, perhaps, those belonging to each prebend) does not now appear; nor, indeed, is it, by any means, an uncontroverted point, that any of them were, at the time of the original endowment, appropriated at all, but to the general use of the church; not even those that are now, and have been long, enjoyed by the prebendaries themselves, even upon the old foundation. Donations were, in former times, usually made *Deo & Ecclesie*, for the general purposes of religion and the church. But, when the secular clergy began to be made bishops, and heads of cathedral, and collegiate, bodies, after the conquest, a division of property, between the superior and the other members, soon obtained; and, not long after, among the inferior members themselves. Then it was, benefactors began to point out the particular appropriations of their respective donations, as for the support of some officer of the foundation, to find lights, to provide ornaments, to repair the fabrick, or to increase the commons. With this change of circumstances, it is supposed, the members of cathedral, and collegiate, bodies, changed also the titles, which they bore in them. While they lived in common, they were styled simply canons; when each canon came to have a prebend (or provision) to himself, distinct from the common stock, he acquired the title of prebendary.

* Thorot, Antiq. of Notts.

I FIND, however, by the White Book, as early as the fifth year of Henry III, that Walter, Archbishop of York, conferred upon the chapter, for the particular benefit of the residentiary's commons, the church of Rolleston; which he obtained, for this purpose, of the prior and convent of Thurgarton. A further augmentation to the fund, for the commons of the resident canons, occurs in 19th of Edward I, by the decree of John, Archbishop of York, the chapter of Southwell consenting, as also that of York.* By this decree the portions of corn and hay, arising within the parishes of Southwell and Upton, which did formerly belong to three of the prebends, are, by the consent of the three prebendaries holding the same, appropriated to the uses of the chapter and canons resident. Several other estates were, at different times, settled for the like purposes, which will be better seen among the list of benefactors, in a subsequent chapter. By the before-mentioned John, Archbishop of York, the rectory of Barneby, near Newark, was given to the chapter, for the special purpose of supporting choristers. Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, gave them the church of Wheatly, to find lights for the service of God; and indeed, without any further enumeration here, it is sufficient to observe, that, from this time, all the donations to the chapter, recorded in their White Book, are limited by some special designation of their application.

THE lands belonging to the fabrick lay chiefly in Southwell and Normanton. They do not appear ever to have been considerable, though, at different times, this revenue received almost innumerable small additions. But any more particular account of these will also be better reserved for that chapter of this work, which I have thought

* Vid. Regist. Album.

proper to appropriate, exclusively, to the purpose of recording the liberality of benefactors to this venerable monument of antiquity.

THE vicars choral, who make the next part of this collegiate society, were sixteen in number, as well as the prebendaries; each canon appointing his own vicar, and paying him for his choral duty. At what time the number was first reduced, and whether that reduction took place all at once, is a matter, perhaps, of little moment; but, were it otherwise, not now positively ascertainable. Such evidences as are to be found on the subject, in some degree, contradict each other. Reasoning by analogy from the other cathedral, or collegiate, foundations, under the patronage of the see of York, one might plausibly enough conclude, that the alteration took place during the pontificate of Walter Grey, who was the author of very considerable reformations, of a similar kind, in his other churches. It was this active prelate who first erected the vicars choral of York into a college, and gave them statutes for the regulation of their affairs; ordaining them, at the same time, a common seal, and appointing a keeper of it. This ordination was confirmed by King Henry III; whose charter of confirmation bears date 15 Id. Oct, 1269.* A passage, in the endowment of one of the chantries at Southwell, favors the opinion of some, material alterations having taken place among this body, in the time of the last-mentioned archbishop: it occurs in that of the chantry at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr, founded by Robert Lexington in the reign of Henry III, whereby he directs, that, "in consideration of the lands he gives to the chapter, certain chantry priests shall be appointed to his altar, who shall follow the choir in the same manner as the *vicars* of the order of Walter Grey, *regulated* by his deed bearing date at Oxton, 26th year of his pontificate."†

* Drake's Antiq. of York. † Regist. Album.

THE great difficulty, in the way of this supposition, arises from the valuations, before mentioned, in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI; in which there are said to be sixteen vicars. I do not, however, think this objection insurmountable; because, as these estimates were made merely for the purpose of ascertaining the revenues, and not the number of persons, in contemplation of dissolving the foundation, the king's commissioners might, naturally enough, reckon the sixteen vicarage endowments or stipends, though, in fact, they were divided among but six, or some other small number of vicars, who undertook the whole duty of the church. What makes this conjecture the more probable, is, that, so soon after as the reign of Elizabeth, among the statutes she gave to this church, where she provides for the sustentation of the vicars choral, she ordains that, "for the future, there shall be, at least, six; the number, that have of late undertaken the duty of the church, not being sufficient to perform it with decency and regularity."

It should seem, the number of vicars must have been less than sixteen in the year 1379, by the extent of the ground at that time allotted to them for their dwellings. The college composed a quadrangle, so small, that, when the reformation took place, and the clergy were allowed to marry, it could only be divided into six very indifferent houses: two on the south side; two on the north; and two on the west, with a gateway between the two latter into the churchyard. The east was occupied by the hall of the college, as appears by a petition of the chapter to the archbishop, in the year 1689, for leave to take it down, and to build a common-house, for the residentiaries, in its place; as also for his permission to cut down a small quantity of his wood, in Norwood Park, to assist them in their projected work.*

* Regist. Album.

IN this hall, commons were provided for the canons, vicars, and other members of the church, much in the same manner as meals are served up in the halls of colleges in our universities, at this day. At York, there yet remain many regulations by different archbishops and chapters, for the manner, and hours, of the vicars dining, in the common-hall belonging to that body.* Among these are many restrictions, respecting the quantity of liquor to be drank, and the sex of the waiters to be admitted. It seems, the vicars of that place were in the habit of living so voluptuously, that the archbishop found it prudent to forbid the introduction of female servants into their society; wherefore, by one of these regulations, a penalty of twenty shillings is imposed on any vicar who employs a waiter of that sex. One may reasonably conclude, from the decree of Archbishop John, in the year 1293, and herein-after inserted, that the vicars of Southwell were scarcely more continent than their brethren of York; since they are, by that, forbidden to have any female waiters, but those whose ages exempt them from all suspicion of amorous inclination.†

BEFORE the year 1379, the habitation of the vicars of Southwell was situated immediately upon the east side of the brook, which runs through the town, cutting the high road at right angles, and now bearing the name of Bullivant's Dyke. This fabrick, it seems, was ruinous; for which, and other reasons to be found in the account of the present foundation, hereafter inserted, the vicars were obliged to lodge dispersed abroad in different parts of the town. Richard de Chesterfield, one of the canons of the church, in the year above-mentioned, obtained leave from the Pope, and the Archbishop of York, to appropriate that part of the church-yard, on which the college now stands, to that purpose; and, accordingly, built there, at

* Vid. Drake's Antiq. † Regist. Album.

his own charge, the quadrangle before mentioned. The ground story of this building remained till the year 1780. It was made, at first, according to the fashion of the times, only two stories high, of which the upper one was in the roof. This was so much out of repair about the year 1485, that it became necessary to take it off; which was done at the expence of William Talbot, one of the canons of that day; of whom more will be said hereafter. Having taken away this covering, the depth of which was so considerable, as to have extended to the ceilings of the lower rooms, he left the bottom story, which was of stone, and erected a superstructure of chambers, after the taste of the age, of a very strong frame of oak wood, the interstices of which were filled with mortar and plaister, and other such materials. Over this he made a more modern roof of less depth. Lapse of time having rendered these houses, again, almost uninhabitable, the prebendaries of the church, with a generosity that would have done honor to a much richer body, subscribed a considerable sum of money, by means of which they began to rebuild this college in 1780. Some additional donations, to be enumerated in another place, have enabled them to finish it in a very neat and commodious manner.

For this species of liberality, the prebendaries of Southwell had a very early example, preserved in their White Book. In the year 1294, there appear copies of several letters from the chapter to the different prebendaries, calling upon them for the seventh part of the profits of their stalls, (according to the agreement in the last convocation to that effect) for the purpose of carrying on the various undertakings, in which they were then engaged, and threatening them, if they neglected to appear immediately, and answer this summons, with excommunication.

THE vicars choral had formerly lands of considerable value in the parishes of Southwell, Edingley, Farnsfield, Muskham, and other

places in the neighborhood. They were possessed also of Rawmarsh,* in the county of York, and the Priory Alien of West Ravensdale, in that of Lincoln. Beside these, they had the rectory of Knesal, in the county of Nottingham, to which that of Boughton was united, and the union confirmed, by the Chapter of York, in 1403; as appears by their instrument of confirmation.† They received also an annual stipend of four pounds from each of the prebendaries, which, indeed, is still continued. What alteration took place in the constitution of this church, or what was the inducement to the vicars, does not appear; but, about the year 1393, most, or all, of the estates, of which they were then possessed, were conveyed, by the vicars, to the chapter, through the medium of their friend and benefactor, Richard de Chesterfield. It is to be presumed, they received some recompence; but of what sort, whether beneficial to their successors, or only advantageous to themselves, we have no history.

THE deed of conveyance is inserted in the White Book, and comprises the following estates. One messuage in the borough of Southwell, late Quarell's; one ditto, late Cicely de Beskwood's; one in Milnegate, late Webster's; two acres and one rood of land in Southwell, late Coll's; the moiety of a messuage in ditto, as also of an acre of land, late James's; four shillings annual rent issuing out of land in ditto, late Smyth's; half an acre in ditto, late William Westhorp's; two acres in Normanton, late Coll's, all which are of the see of the Archbishop of York. One messuage in Easthorpe, late Mandeville's; moiety of a messuage in ditto, late Essurton's; eight

* The Chapter of Southwell, in the year 1785, made an inquiry into the depth of the seam of coal which lies under this parish, when it appeared that the average thickness was nine feet; that an acre, or 4840 yards, would produce 14520 dozens of coal, worth 3811l.

† Vid. Regist. Album.

shillings rent issuing out of lands in Horsepoole; one messuage near Burbeck, late Woderoue's; one toft, late Bulcote's; and one toft, late Catte's, both in Easthorpe; one toft in Westhorpe, late Cross's; one messuage, two tofts, seven bovates of land, ten acres of meadow, and sixteen shillings rent out of tenements in Halam, Edingley, Osmundthorpe, and Holbeck; one toft, three bovates of land, six acres of meadow, in the same towns, of divers fees; one messuage, five bovates of land, four acres of meadow, and five shillings and sixpence annual rent, issuing out of tenements in Kirklington, Edingley, Halam, Osmundthorpe, and Holbeck of several fees; half an acre of land, late Farndon's; one acre, late Calverton's, in Halam and Edingley; one toft and two bovates in Normanton, late Brown's; three acres of land in Hockerton, late Coll's; one toft, fourteen acres of land, and four acres of meadow in Holme and North Muskham; five acres of land and five of meadow in the same town, and two shillings and fourpence annual rent issuing out of a messuage in Bleasby, Gourton, and Gipsmere. All these are conveyed to the chapter, as it is expressed, "for the benefit of the vicars choral."

WHATEVER estates, or revenues, remained appropriated to particular inferior members of this church, as to the vicars, chauntry, and other, priests, or to the lay-officers of it, so late as the reign of Henry VIII, were included in the general surrender to that monarch, at the time of the dissolution; and, when he refounded and re-endowed this church, they were all of them comprehended in his charter of endowment, and settled on the chapter; and, instead of the estates themselves, particular stipends, out of the aggregate property, were appointed to be paid to the inferior members of the body.

AT the time the vicars were possessed of estates, and their property was distinct from that of the chapter, they had a common seal, for

The transacting of their business. It appeared to a deed in 1262, whereby they confirmed a gift, which Richard de Sutton, canon of the church, had made of lands in Muskham, Bathely, and Holme, to Hugh de Morton, his chamberlain, to be holden of the said vicars, at the yearly rent of ten shillings. To this deed was affixed in the first place, the vicars seal, in the circumference of which were the words *Commune Sigillum Vicariorum Suuel*: secondly the seal of the chapter.* This instrument is not now extant. The vicars choral, I have before observed, are six in number. The living of Southwell, or, as it is called, the parish vicarage, is the private patronage of the prebendary of Normanton; but, not being, of itself, a sufficient provision for a man who has no connexion with the college, it has generally been given to one of these members of the body. Its value is about fifty pounds per annum, including the house and a considerable garden, which make it a desirable addition to the income of one of the officers of the church. There is a school also, with an endowment by Edward VI, of ten pounds per annum out of the Exchequer, payable at midsummer; and twelve more, payable quarterly by the chapter, which another of the vicars choral always holds. In the year 1728, there was a long arrear of this salary due to the schoolmaster from the Exchequer, whereupon the chapter of Southwell presented a memorial to Sir Robert Walpole, at that time chancellor, praying "that he would grant a warrant to the proper officer, to allow and pay "the arrearages, and continue the salary." From that time it has been regularly remitted; but the arrears, which were of six years standing, are still undischarged. The boys not being very eligible neighbors, the chapter have lately fixed that vicar, who has the care of the school, in the ancient mansion of the chauntry priests, at a distance from the college. The parish minister's vicarage house is also distant from the

* Thorot. Antiq. of Notts.

college, and wholly independent of the chapter. The absence of these two vicars made six houses no longer necessary; and the ground, which the college occupies, being somewhat confined, the chapter on the last occasion, erected only four, for the habitations of the four remaining vicars, whose offices and avocations are not of a sort to dispense with their residence within its walls. By these means they were enabled to make the houses very commodious, and also to improve the general appearance of the structure, by leaving the west end of the court open to the church and church-yard, with only a neat iron ballustrade to mark their respective limits.

THE salary of each vicar choral is a fixed, annual stipend. Its improved amount is fifteen pounds, payable quarterly. Beside this, they have their choice of all livings in the patronage of the chapter, according to their seniority in the church, next after the prebendaries. There is no restriction as to the number of preferments to be holden by the vicars, but such as the general law of the land imposes: but, by a decree of the chapter, for the benefit of the vicars, no prebendary can hold more than one living of the gift of the chapter. Beside these, a few small perquisites arise from their preaching occasional sermons.

THERE is an organist, with a salary of fifteen pounds per annum, payable quarterly by the chapter. To this are generally annexed some other offices, as those of rector chori, with an annual salary of five pounds; of auditor, with a like salary of five pounds; of a singing-man, with one of ten pounds; and several small perquisites.

THE singing-men, or, as they are in some churches called, the lay-vicars, are the officers next in order to be noticed. They are six in number, and have, by the statutes, an annual stipend of ten

pounds each, paid by the chapter, which has of late been augmented to about twenty pounds.

THE choristers are also six in number. Their statutable salary is two pounds per annum; but is, of late, also somewhat increased by the chapter.

THERE are two scholarships, and two fellowships, founded in St. John's College, Cambridge, in the 22d year of Henry VIII, by a Dr. Keton, Canon of Sarum, to be presented by the said Dr. Keton and Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, then one of the justices of the Court of Common Pleas, during their lives; and, after their decease, by the master, fellows, and scholars of the said college, to persons who shall have served as choristers of the chapter of Southwell. In the 30th of George II an improper application of this charity, gave occasion to an able argument, and an elaborate judgment, in the Court of King's Bench.* The master and senior fellows of St. John's College, elected, into one of these fellowships of Keton's foundation, one Craven, who had not been a chorister of Southwell; although one Todington, who was not in any respect disqualified by the statutes of the society, and who had served in the capacity of a chorister, was a candidate. Todington appealed to the Bishop of Ely, as visitor general of the college, against this election. The master and senior fellows moved the Court of King's Bench for a prohibition, on two grounds—First, That the Bishop of Ely, though visitor of the college for certain purposes, was not visitor general, being limited, by the statutes, in the time, the objects, the manner, and the form of his visitation; and that he was not visitor as to the election of fellows. Secondly, that if he were visitor as to the election of fellows upon the old foundation,

* Vid. Burrow's Reports, Vol. 1.

yet that he could not exercise that power upon these ingrafted fellowships of Keton's. Lord Chief Justice Mansfield delivered the opinion of the court, "that the Bishop of Ely was general visitor of "St. John's College, except in cases excepted; that, as such, he had a "visitatorial power over the fellowships of the old foundation; that the "mode of donation being the law of it, if Keton had appointed a visitor, "and the college had accepted his donation upon those terms, his "appointment would take place; but, that not being the case, this, "like all new ingraftments on old foundations (no particular provision "being made, by the donor, to the contrary) becomes, as it were, a part "of the old foundation, subject to the general laws, and its rights "determinable according to the old constitution, of the college: that, "by that old constitution, the master and fellows were to elect, and if "they did wrong, the visitor to judge." The prohibition was accordingly refused; and the visitor's opinion being with Todington, he was, in the event, put into possession of the fellowship. This foundation was again the subject of litigation before the visitor, in the year 177-. One of Keton's fellowships became vacant; two candidates appeared, of the names of Wood and Abson. Both had been choristers regularly chosen, both scholars of St. John's. The college made choice of Abson. Wood appealed to the visitor, alledging for cause, that Abson was only a nominal chorister, that he never sung, and did not constantly attend the duty of the church. This accusation appeared to the visitor to be founded in fact; and he, accordingly, superseded the election of Abson by the college, considering his service, as chorister, in the light of a fraud upon the foundation. Hereupon Wood was put into possession of the fellowship in the year 1784.

THE other officers of the society are virger, dog-whipper, &c. as in other cathedral, and collegiate, churches.

THERE were many chauntries founded in the church of Southwell, at a very early period. Of these there is an account in the White Book, all collected into one point of view: of the later ones there is no enumeration, but such as is to be extracted from the different instruments of donation. The chauntry priests, thirteen in number, had a large house at the north-west corner of the church-yard, still called emphatically *the chauntry*, and several lands in common. This house has been already noticed, as having been lately appropriated to the residence of the schoolmaster.

IN the year 1372, an inquisition was taken, by authority of the Archbishop of York, of all the chauntries belonging to Southwell, before the Prior of Thurgarton, and Master John Crophill, canon of the church. It was declared, upon oath, as follows, viz. “that there are three particular chauntries founded in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr, two whereof are endowed with twelve marks yearly, to be received of the rector of the church of Barnburgh near Doncaster, and the third chauntry consists in certain rents of divers tenements to the said chauntry assigned, viz. of Sir John Lodnam, Knight, ten shillings; of Richard de Clay, ten shillings; of William Zoug, one pound; of William Marschall, ten shillings and nine pence; of Thomas Gunter, ten shillings and eight pence; of Richard Baker, one shilling and eight pence; of John de le Chaumbyr, ten pence; of divers tenements in Laxton Morehouse, sixteen shillings; of Sibella Browning, ten pence; of Robert Barker, one shilling and six pence. The fourth chauntry is founded at the altar of St. Peter the Apostle, in the same church, by Richard Sutton in six marks, to be received from the prebendary of North Muskham, because the lands and rents of the said chauntry are in the possession of the same prebendary. The fifth chauntry was founded by William Wydyngton, Knight, at

the altar of St. Nicholas in the aforesaid church, which consists in divers rents payable from different tenements to the sum of six pounds eight shillings, as appears in the endowment of the same. The sixth chauntry was founded by Andrew, bailiff of Southwell, at the altar of St. Stephen in the said church, in one manse in Southwell, and divers rents yearly to be received. The seventh chauntry by Henry Vavasor, at the altar of St. John the Baptist in the same church, in divers rents as follows, viz. of Robert Roderham, chaplain, one pound; of Henry Marshall of Norwell, six shillings and eight pence; of a certain place in Norwell Woodhouse, three shillings; of a certain place of pasture in Edyngley, thirteen shillings and four pence; of the fabrick of the church of Southwell, ten shillings and two pence; of John Wynflete, eight shillings and six pence; of a tenement late Richard Wylughby's in Southwell, six shillings and five pence; of a certain place in Easthorpe, three shillings; of Master Robert Tanour, three shillings and eight pence; of Sibilla Brownyng, one shilling; of the Chauntry of St. Nicholas, two shillings; of the Chauntry of St. Thomas, one shilling; of Isabella de Crumwell, two pence. The eighth Chauntry, by Henry de Nottingham, at the altar of St. John the Evangelist, in the said church, was endowed with divers rents as follows: viz. of the Prior of Sixhill, six marks; of certain tenements in Warsop, one pound; and of certain tenements in Wylughby near Norwell, six shillings and eight pence. The ninth Chauntry, is called the Chauntry of St. Mary, the chaplain of which enjoys the church of Whetley; which church became, in the pestilence, so poor, that the chaplain could not support the burthens thereof; wherefore it was assigned to him, that he should receive two pounds yearly from the Prior of Sixhill, and lands and tenements in Sutton and Carleton to the yearly value of six marks, by purchase of the Reverend William Gunthorpe, late Canon of Southwell."

AT some period of the reformation, probably when this church was re-endowed, most of the revenues, which had belonged to the society of chauntry priests, were transferred to the chapter; and, among the rest, their ancient college, which, as has been observed, is situate at the north-west corner of the church-yard. Some estates are supposed with good reason to have been in the possession of this community, with which neither the chapter, nor its individual members, have, now, any connexion; but, by what means they have got into other hands, whether by grant, or fraud, or by the indolence of the præbendaries, in not sufficiently taking care of the revenues belonging to the church, it would be difficult, at this distance of time, to determine.

By the instrument of Henry VI, which conveyed the priory of Ravendale to the chapter of Southwell, we are informed, that the number of persons bearing office in this church amounted to upwards of sixty.*

SOUTHWELL and Ripon are said to be the only churches in England, which are, as well parochial, as collegiate, at this day; all the others having been dissolved by Henry VIII or his successor.

It now remains to say something of the different prebends, the places from which they have their titles and revenues, and the mode in which those revenues accrue.†

* Vid. Regist. Album.

† It would be to little purpose merely to repeat what other historians have before recorded relative to these places; beside that they only claim a notice *here* as appendages to the principal subject of investigation, the church of Southwell. With this observation, therefore, let the reader whose inquiries are not satisfied by information collected from sources more recently discovered, and that sort of abridgement of Thoroton and other writers, which it has been thought convenient to introduce, have recourse to the earlier and original authorities, which are invariably pointed out.

NORWELL, which furnishes provision for three prebendaries in the church of Southwell, is situated about ten miles to the north of that place. It is now not an inconsiderable village, but, probably, has been, in former times, much larger; as I find in the reign of Henry III, there was a grant of an annual fair, and a weekly market.* The three prebends of this place are among the most ancient; and the first of them, Norwell Overhall, has always been esteemed the best in the church of Southwell. Though it be not any where expressly declared, it is to be collected from many parts of the White Book, that the prebend known by the name of Norwell Overhall was the first founded of these three; that the prebendary of that was lord of the manor, patron of the church, and was very largely endowed. The prebend of Palace-Hall was the second, in date of foundation, and extent of property. It seems more than probable, that the third, commonly called Tertia pars, was of much later institution, and, very probably, carved out of Overhall. This supposition affords the only means of accounting for the present division, and respective appropriations, of property, in Norwell and its contiguous hamlets, between these two prebends. The revenues of all three arise from considerable estates in, and about, Norwell, Norwell Woodhouse, and Carlton upon Trent; which are demised upon leases for lives to tenants. There are two small vicarages here, of which the prebendaries of Norwell Overhall, and Norwell Tertia pars, are the patrons. The value of these vicarages, when separated, is so extremely trifling, that, of late years, the two prebendaries, for the laudable purpose of providing a resident minister, have made a joint presentation of one vicar, to whom the two medieties supply a comfortable subsistence.†

*Vid. Regist. Albuin.

† The present incumbent is the Rev. Edward Chaplin, on the joint presentation of the Rev. George Markham, and the Rev. William Dealtry, prebendaries of the respective prebends.

IN the White Book, is an ordination of Archbishop William Wickwane, which states the vicarage of Norwell to consist of "one messuage, thirty acres of arable land, five acres of meadow, five shillings and seven pence annual rent issuing out of two tenements in Norwell and Carlton, and in all tythes great and small, oblations and obventions, except only corn and hay, which belong to the Canon." It is valued at seven pounds thirteen shillings and two pence annual produce. An inquisition was afterwards taken of this vicarage which corresponds with this ordination. There is also the charter of Henry III, dated the forty first year of his reign, whereby he grants to John Clarel, Canon of Norwell Overhall, and his successors, "free warren in all his demesnes, except within the bounds of the forest; also a weekly market every Thursday, and an annual fair, to last three days at Norwell, and to be holden on the morrow of the Holy Trinity, provided the said market and fair be not prejudicial to those in the neighborhood." The title of this fair and market was afterwards questioned, in the reign of Edward III; but, on inquisition, allowed to John de Thoresby, Canon of Norwell, as appears from the same authority. The prebends of Norwell Overhall, and Palace Hall, have their respective prebendal houses in the town of Southwell; but, to that of Tertia pars, there is none. The prebendaries also of the two former, with him of Normanton, enjoy, in common, the predial tithes of Southwell, and of several other contiguous parishes. To prevent disputes, they are divided into three parts; and each third part changes hands every three years: so that, in the course of nine, each of the three prebendaries has been in possession of every portion of these tithes. Before the enclosure of some of the parishes, which compose this cycle, the division was thus allotted. The town and fields of Southwell, with the hamlets of Westhorp and Normanton, made the *first* part. Halam, Farnsfield, Kirklington, Edingley, and Halloughton, the *second*. Gourton, Gibsmere, Bleasby, Easthorpe, and Noton, the

third. From this triennial succession of enjoyment, among the three proprietors of these tithes, they have acquired the name of *the Current Tithes*.

WHEN an enclosure has taken place in any of these contributory parishes, the tithes (which have always been commuted for land) have been deducted from the common stock, and the lands, taken in lieu of them, settled in proportionate divisions on the respective prebends, to which this triennial, tripartite succession appertained. The original agreement to enjoy them after this mode, is still extant, subscribed by the three prebendaries who entered into the contract; viz, H. de Skypton, J. Clarel, and H. le Vavasour: it bears date A. D. 1266.

IN the same repository is an agreement between the Prebendary of Norwell and the Rector of Crombwell, a contiguous parish, respecting some disputed tithes. The agreement is dated 1371, and determines, "that the Rector of Crombwell, for the time being, and his successors, shall receive all titheable thraves, which amount, in number, to fifty-two, and arise from persons inhabiting fifteen tenements in the said town of Crombwell, and also all other real and personal tithes arising from those tenements, &c. And in recompense for the said thraves, &c. the two prebendaries of Norwell shall receive an annual pension of one pound, six shillings, and eight pence." This agreement received the confirmation of John, Archbishop of York, in 1371, as I suppose, though in the White Book written 1351, which is twenty years before the agreement, and when William Zouch was Archbishop.

AMONG the entries, in the same place, in the reign of Henry IV there is a curious memorandum, respecting the customs of Norwell, to the following purport.

“MEMORANDUM.—That all the tenants of the Lord, in bondage, as well free as natives, in Norwell, Woodhouse, and Willoughby, whereof three only are natives, being charged to declare the truth, concerning the customs and services of their tenements, say, that every one holding a bovate of land, or any messuage in the place of a bovate, ought to plough one day in sowing time in the winter, receiving from the Lord, for that work, wheaten bread and pease to the value of three pence, and to harrow with one horse, receiving, for the same, bread to the value of two pence; likewise he is bound to do the same services, at lent sowing, at the same price: also to weed with an hoe, for which he is to receive bread to the value of an halfpenny; he ought also, together with his companions, to mow the Lord's meadows in Northyng, containing thirteen acres, for which he and the rest of the mowers of the same meadow, whose number is twenty four, shall eat in the Prebendal-house as follows: first, they shall have bread and beer, potage, beef, pork, and lamb, for the first course; and for the second, broth, pigs, ducks, veal or lamb roasted; and, after dinner, they are to sit and drink, and then go in and out of the hall three times, drinking each time they return, which being done, they shall have a bucket of beer, containing eight flagons and an half, which bucket ought to be carried on the shoulders of two men through the midst of the town, from the Prebendal-house unto the aforesaid meadow, where they are to divert themselves with plays the remainder of the day, at which plays the Lord shall give two pair of white gloves. On the day following, the mowing shall be made into heaps, for which work they shall have from the Lord four pence only, to drink; and when the hay shall have become dry, all the twenty four tenants shall carry the same unto the manse of the prebend, and there house it, for which they shall have, in bread, to the value of a penny per cart load, and each person assisting thereat (called treaders) shall have, for his

work, bread, in value an halfpenny; and the aforesaid twenty four tenants shall mow three acres of the Lord's meadow in the Moor, and they, with the tossers, carrying the hay from the same meadow, shall toss it once, and every one working thereat shall have, from the Lord, bread, to the value of an halfpenny; and the Lord shall dispose of the rest; and every tenant holding an entire bovate of land, shall, with his companions, reap, &c. the Lord's corn, from the beginning to the end of autumn, with two men, receiving from the Lord, each day, for every one at work, bread, to the value of one penny, and three herrings: likewise every tenant shall carry two cart loads of corn from the fields of Norwell to the manse of the prebend, and shall not therefore receive, from the Lord, any thing; and, at the end of autumn, the Lord shall give, to all his tenants so mowing, four pence, to drink, and one pair of white pigeons."

ANOTHER memorandum, in the same reign, states the land belonging to the prebend of Norwell Overhall to be

	Ac.
In the North Felde of Norwell.....	77 $\frac{1}{2}$
In the Mydil Felde.....	56 $\frac{1}{2}$
In the South Felde.....	59
In Woodhouse.....	21
Total of Demesne Lands.....	214 $\frac{1}{2}$
In Willughby.....	37
Of Pasture.....	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

THE church of Norwell, which is dedicated to St. Lawrence, is large and of the style of Edward III's time. There is a mural monument in the chancel, with the following inscriptions to the memory of Elizabeth the wife of Gervas Lee.

UBI CELSA MAGNI.

READER what erst; Let fall thy Christal teare,
 That Pearle, thus knowne, w^{ch}. is dissolved here:
 And consecrate a Sigh to her good Urn,
 Such as so greate a Loss may rightly mourne—
 Mourne Vertue, Honour, seiz'd by Fatal death,
 Here mourne them, layde wth. Choise Elizabeth;
 Whose true composure take it to the Life,
 Was Loyal, Royall, Careful, Cheareful Wife:
 And who best knew Her, knew her worse to none
 Then good to All—all Good, a godlie one.
 Here Cynick search, here mayst thou easily finde
 Who left some Good; but none so Good behinde
 So good to me, whilst now untimely lost
 Many must want Her—I poore I the most
 The most Poore I; in that Deaths sweet reliefe
 Hard Fates deny to mine Immortal Griefe.

Ilicet

ÆTERNITATI Sacra

Hic sita est Elizabetha; Gulielmi Ayloffæ de
 Brittenis Essexiæ Militis & Baronetti ex Kathe-
 rina (Tho Sterne de Melburne Cantabrig Armig
 filia & hærede) Filia—Conubia juncta fuit Gervasii
 Gervasio Lee nuper de Southwell Armig. Quem
 cum post anos bis octo, octo bis beasset Prole
 (Utriusque sexûs æquali) Magno sui de se, apud
 se suosque omnes desiderio, voluit mori. Resur-
 rectionis Avida resurgere caepit Resurrectionis
 Pridie Aprilis 4^o Ao Dni 1629. Ex quo
 Terras Astræa reliquit. In longum Formosa Vale.

(On the floor.)

THESSAURUS INTUS.

WHAT * * * * * visione founde
 Here R * is who digs this sacred grounde
 Shall * * * * sin * * * * Cruel
 * * * * * heavenly jewel
 Which though * * * * his pains
 My diamond in clay her worth retains

(In the chancel floor on a marble slab.)

Hic jacet Edwardus Lee Arm:
 Ob: 23: Aprilis anno ætatis 76.
 Annoque Domini 1712.

(On a pillar in the body of the church.)

Near this place lies interred the body of
 Mr. Tho. Sturtevant.
 Who was the last of the family of
 that name
 of Palace Hall
 Ob: June 3d. 1772 aged 85.

IN this church are interred several persons of the family of Hutton of Carlton, (which is a hamlet to the parish of Norwell) but their places of sepulture are not distinguished by any thing more than a mere "hic jacet" upon the pavement of the aisles.

NORMANTON, which gives denomination to another of the prebends of this church, is a hamlet to Southwell.

THIS is a part of the ancient foundation, of which we have no other account, than that it belonged to the church in the reign of William I.* The revenues of this prebend arise from lands in Normanton and Southwell, † a third part of the current tithes before-mentioned, and a mansion-house in Southwell, rebuilt of late years in a very handsome and substantial manner, by the lessee.

NORMANTON has formerly been the residence of four of the most ancient and respectable families in the county of Nottingham; viz. A branch of the Cartwrights of Ossington, who, in the latter part of the last century, had a handsome house here; the Hunts of Nottingham, who had a mansion-house and considerable estate here, from the reign of Henry IV to that of Henry VIII; Sir Matthew Palmer, and his descendants; and the Leeks of Halam, who, in the beginning of the last century, were among those of the first property and consequence in this part of the county.

OXTON, or Oston, or Exton, gives title to two more of the ancient prebends of this church. The prebendary of Oxton prima pars has lands in Oxton, Calverton, and Cropwell Bishop; the great tithes of Calverton, and a moiety of the tithes of Oxton, and of Blydworth. The prebendary of Oxton secunda pars has lands in Oxton, Calverton, and Cropwell, and some in Hickling; with the other part, or moiety,

* Vid. Regist. Album.

† Vid. App. No. 12, a terrar of the rental of the prebend of Normanton in the year 1746, by E. Becher.

of the tithes of Oxton and Blydworth. The two prebendaries of Oxton present alternately to the vicarages of Oxton, Calverton, and Cropwell Bishop. A mansion-house in Southwell belongs also to this second prebend, but there is none to the other.

THE town of Oxton, about five miles west from Southwell, is a large village, and lately had two considerable halls, or family seats, the property of the Sherbrookes, who have been settled here ever since about the eighth of Elizabeth; at which period Robert Sherbrooke, second son of Robert Sherbrooke of Derbyshire, purchased lands in Oxton of one Lancelot Rolleston of Hucknall.* This Robert had a son, Thomas, who purchased other lands here (14 Eliz.) of one George Purefoy of Drayton, in the county of Leicester. This Thomas had a son, Robert, who added very considerably to the possessions of his ancestors, in the parish of Oxton, by the purchase of a large estate (9 Jac. I.) from one Thomas Leek of Leek. Thomas, the son of the last-mentioned Robert, (12 Ch. I.) bought more lands, in the same place, of one John Cam. This property in Oxton, accumulating through so many generations, was lately in the possession of Margaret, one of the daughters and coheiresses of the late Henry Sherbrooke. She married Henry Porter of Arnold, who took the name of Sherbrooke, and died without issue. There were two other daughters of the last-mentioned Henry Sherbrooke, Elizabeth and Sarah; one of whom married William Coape of Arnold near Nottingham, the other married Samuel Lowe of Southwell. The eldest son of the former of these marriages is now in possession of the family property of the Sherbrookes, at Oxton and elsewhere, and has lately improved the *principal* mansion-house here, and pulled down the inferior one.

* Thoroton's Antiq. of Notts.

THE town of Oxton was anciently within the limits of the Forest of Shirewood ; but, at the great perambulation, in the reign of Henry II, was left out. The inhabitants, however, claimed a right of common upon the forest, in the eighth of Edward III ; judgment was respited, because the court considered the town as discharged of all the burthens of the forest, and, therefore, not entitled to its privileges: but the inhabitants agreeing to pay a rent to the crown for a right of common, as they had formerly enjoyed it, the question was so determined*.

THE limits of this forest are exactly described in a perambulation made by the order of King Edward I, in the 29th year of his reign †. In the time of the preceding king, a considerable part of the forest of Shirewood had been disforested. In consequence of this alteration in the mētes and bounds, frequent perambulations became necessary, to ascertain the new limits with precision. Many of these are still to be met with in the public repositories of the neighboring towns, whose interests were affected by the change ; and many more in the hands of private persons. An early one, from the Registrum Album, will be found in the Appendix, because, I believe, till I had occasion to examine that book, it was not known to be a part of the contents; and, therefore, has never before been made public ‡.

As the introduction of the town of Oxton, and the doubt respecting its right of common on Shirewood, induced the mention of this early perambulation of the forest, it may not be deemed irrelevant, if this opportunity be seized of referring to another, more modern perambulation; which, though of a much later date, boasts an antiquity that entitles it to be rescued from that annihilation, to which

* THOROT. Antiq. of Notts.

† VID. Regist. Alb.

‡ VID. App. No. 13.

all such records are too subject, circumstanced as this is, in the hands of private persons. It has been selected out of a very large number, to be found in two books at Southwell, (of which a particular account will be given hereafter) for two reasons; first, because it is the most modern of them; secondly, because it is the fullest, and comprehends more minute metes and bounds than any of the others. In one of these collections, there are no less than three intermediate perambulations: but, as the mention of the forest is only incidental to, and explanatory of, a part of my general subject, it is unnecessary to take any notice of these, further than merely giving the titles, which are,

1. PERAMBULATIO Foreste de Shirewoode, anno xxi. Henrici, Septimi.

2. PERAMBULATIO Foreste; anno xxx. Henrici Octavi.

3. PERAMBULATIO Foreste de Shirewood, facta quarto die Aprilis, anno secundo Edwardi Sexti, Dei Gratiâ Angliæ, Rex, &c.

4. THE Perambulation of the Forest made the xxij, xxiiij, and xxiiiij. days of September, in xxxi year of the raygne of our Sovereigne Lady Elizabeth, before Launcelot Rolleston, Christopher Strelley, Esquires, and others*.

WOODBOROUGH, or Udeborough, is a smallish village, lying about six miles to the south-west of Southwell†. It furnishes one of those prebends, which we find endowed at the earliest period of the church.

* VID. App. No. 14.

† So early as the reign of Henry III, a knight of the name of Wode, descended from a long line of ancestors of the same name, lived here and possessed the principal property in the place, as appears by Thoroton. It should seem therefore that this was an ancient fortified place, of which possession had

The revenues of it arise from lands in the parish of Woodborough, demised to a lessee, on a lease for three lives.

THE town of Woodborough was, from a very early period in the reign of Edward III, till towards the conclusion of that of Elizabeth, the seat of the Strelleys, one of the most respectable names in the county of Nottingham. The last male heir of the family married Frances, daughter of Fulc Cartwright of Ossington; and, having no issue, he settled his estates, at Woodborough, and elsewhere, on his sister, Isabel Bold*, 13 Eliz. whose grandson, Strelley Bold, sold them to George Lacock. The family of Lacock lived long at Woodborough, but was, at last, also extinct in the male line; and their estates went, in marriage with the females, to the Ouseley's of Panfield in Essex, the Storers of Kneveton in Nottinghamshire, and the Dickinsons of Claypole in Lincolnshire†: Three slabs in the floor of the Chancel commemorate three of this family, viz. Philip Laycock Esquire, Barrister of the Inner Temple, who died aged 68 in 1668; Charles Laycock who died in 1688; and Philip Laycock who died aged 21 in 1707.

THE church of Woodborough, dedicated to St. Swithin, is a very good one, with many remains of magnificence about it, particularly painted glass, with the arms of Strelley, and of those families with whom they intermarried. The patronage of this vicarage was annexed to the Prebend of Woodborough: it was afterwards usurped by those of Oxton; and afterwards served as a curacy, without institution, by the appointment of the ordinary, which is the chapter of Southwell. In

been taken during the Saxon government by some person of the name of Wood, (or as it was then written, Wode,) and that from that circumstance this place took its appellation of Wood's—borough Vid. Ante. observ. on map, art. 40.

* THOROT. Antiq. Notts.

† VID. Post. Pedigree of Dickinson.

1740, a clergyman of Nottingham, of the name of Henson, took out the broad seal for Woodborough, as for a vicarage, served under sequestration, by the appointment of the ordinary. How this matter ended, whether after a litigation, or whether Henson found his claim not worth prosecuting, the Chapter's records are silent; but it appears from them, that, very soon after this, the chapter again appointed to it as a curacy; and under such appointments, it has usually been holden.

MUSKHAM SOUTH, a village eight miles north-east of Southwell, makes another prebend in the collegiate church of that place. This was certainly one of the original foundations there, as we find it, in the surveys of that time, under the denomination of "Muscam, a manor appropriated to St. Mary of Sudwell in the reign of the Conqueror." In that of Henry III, "Henry de Suell augmented the prebend of South Muscam, by a gift of lands in the town of Suell, to William de Markham, canon of that church, and to his successors, canons of the prebend of South Muscam"*. The revenues of this prebend arise from lands and tithes in South Muskham, and a house in Southwell, demised to lessees for three lives. The vicarage is in the patronage of the prebendary.

By a letter of ordination of the church of South Muskham, dated A.D. 1295, and preserved in the Registrum Album, this vicarage appears to consist of "one toft, and of all great and small tithes, oblations and obventions whatsoever, except the tithes of corn, hay, wool, lambs, and ducks." In a subsequent endowment, by John, Archbishop of York, in the same year, there is given to this vicarage, in addition to its former revenues, "the overplus of the tithes of wool, which is interpreted, from number five downwards, likewise all mortuaries."

* REGIST. Alb.

THIS place was principally the property of Galfrey de Scrope, an eminent Judge in the reigns of Edward II and Edward III, and from him descended to the Lords Scrope of Masham, who made no inconsiderable figure in the reigns of the latter Henries*. The family of Willoughby, now Barons of Middleton, have long had the principal property in this parish, and, amongst the rest, the prebendal estate, demised to them, as has been before observed, on three lives.

THE church, which is dedicated to St. Wilfrid, is but of an ordinary kind, and has no remains of antiquity worthy notice in its inside. A small monument records the death of the late Mr. Welby, and pays but a just tribute to the social virtues of his benevolent heart.

PEDIGREE OF WILLOUGHBY,

SHewing how the estates at Muskham came into the possession of the Barons Middleton of Wollaton.

THIS family boasts a Norman origin, as all the writers on the subject assure us. The first of them, who bore the name of Willoughby, came into this kingdom with William the Conqueror; and, being rewarded by that monarch, for his services, with the lordship of Willoughby in Lincolnshire, he took, as was the custom of those times, his own appellation from that of his residence†. From Sir John de Willoughby,

* THOROT. Hist. Notts.

† If the observations contained in the notes to page 104 of this work be correct, the name of Willoughby must be of Danish extraction; and the authority, on which those notes are introduced, is, on these subjects, almost incontrovertible. I believe there is scarcely a county of England which has not one or more places within it distinguished by this appellation: In those of Lincoln and Nottingham there are many. Much remains still to be discovered respecting the power, influence, and possessions of our early invaders, Romans, Saxons, and Danes, especially the last mentioned of these. After what has been advanced respecting a Roman itinerary, might not a similar attempt be made with a Danish one; and if successful in ever so slight a degree, would it not throw considerable light on this obscure subject?

the Norman knight, descended a very numerous posterity, who, branching out into several families, settled themselves in various parts of the kingdom; five of which, at least, have been, at different periods, ennobled. So early as the seventh of Edward II, Sir Richard Willoughby, knight, purchased lands in Wollaton of one Roger de Morteyn, as we are informed by Thoroton upon good authority; and ever since that time a branch of the family have lived at Wollaton.

KING Henry VIII granted, by letters patent, in the 36th year of his reign, the estate of Edmund de la Pole (which had been forfeited to the crown by his attainder) at Selston in Nottinghamshire, to one Richard Willoughby. William, the son of that Richard, married a Rotheram, with whom he obtained the property at Muskham*. At this period, therefore, I shall take up the pedigree of these two branches of this family, premising only, that William Willoughby of Selston, dying without issue in 1670, left his estate at Muskham to Francis Willoughby of Wollaton; as is expressed on a monument in the church of the last-mentioned place, erected to the memory of this William, by the gratitude of his friend.

MUSKHAM NORTH. This is called by Thoroton, and other ancient authors, one of the largest townships in this part of the county; which description is correct at this day, if its hamlets of Holme and Bathley be comprised in this estimate of its extent. "The hamlet of Holme," says Thoroton, "indeed seems to be on the other side Trent, but it is "not so, for that stream which runs between Muskham and Holme is "a new one, and the old current, some vestige whereof is still to be "seen, ran beyond the utmost limit of Holme, and still remains the "boundary between the wapentakes or hundreds of Thurgarton and "Newark." This vestige of the old current, thus recorded by

* COLLIN'S Pecrage.

Thoroton, one would imagine, by his description of it, is as discernable now, as it was in his time. It is a subject on which there can be no doubt, and the only difficulty that attends it is to account for the river having made a channel for itself so much more circuitous, and so much less convenient, than that in which it originally ran*.

THE foundation of the prebend which takes its name from this place is probably of nearly the same date as that of South Muskham: We know at least that it is one of those that were founded before the conquest†.

THE manor of North Muskham in the reign of Edward III, was the property of Henry De Edwinstow, who, with Robert his brother, by the licence of the king, granted it, "with their villains and all other appurtenances, to the prior and religious men of the priory of Newsted in Shirewood, for the sustenance of two priests‡." The principal proprietors of lands in North Muskham, during the reigns of the three first Edwards, were a family of the name of Muschamp, according to the orthography of those times§. About the reign of Henry IV, this family appears to have become extinct, and till the conclusion of that of Edward the VI, there were an unusual number of alienations of property in this parish and its hamlets. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the chapter of Southwell were lords of the manor of Muskham

* IT is more than probable that the commerce on this part of the river will, ere long, induce the proprietors of the navigation to restore the original channel; as the circuitous course of that in use is the occasion of frequent shoals, and therefore of great interruption to trade, or of enormous expence in removing and preventing them.

† REGIST. Alb.

‡ THIS original grant is still extant among the archives of the Mayor and Corporation of Newark.

§ THOROT Antiq. Notts.

and its members. Sir John Stanhope the chief proprietor in Muskham, Sir Thomas Barton in Holme, and the very ancient family of Scrimshire in Bathley*. Joseph Pocklington Esquire, of Barrow house in the county of Cumberland, the younger brother of Roger Pocklington of Winthorpe in the county of Nottingham, is now lord of the manor of North Muskham, as lessee under the chapter of Southwell. He possesses very considerable estates in this place and Bathley, as also in the two next parishes of Cromwell and Carlton, and inhabits a large mansion, erected by himself, at the northern extremity of the parish of North Muskham,

PEDIGREE OF POCKLINGTON.

THIS family are, with good reason, supposed to have taken their appellation from the town of that name in the east riding of Yorkshire, from which they came in the reign of Henry VI†. The name of the town of Pocklington is conjectured to be derived from the greek word‡ πονος, vellus, but, perhaps, with more fancy than foundation. Two brothers, of the names of Ralph and Roger, are said to have followed the fortunes of Queen Margarec of Anjou, after her victory over the Duke of York, in the engagement, commonly called the battle of Wakefield. The terms, on which the Yorkshire men served the queen, at that critical juncture, were the liberty of plundering at discretion when they should arrive south of Trent§. The younger brother remained in one of the midland counties, where he became the author of a numerous progeny: the other fixed in the west, where he lived to have three sons, from whom also descended several children. The famous Doctor

* THOROT. Antiq. Notts.

† M. S. S. Pedigree.

‡ VID. Baxter's Glossary.

§ SIMILAR licences were the usual terms on which armies were raised from the time of King John to that of Henry VIII. Hume's Hist. of Henry VI.

Pocklington, whose writings were condemned by parliament, in the reign of Charles I, was of the latter of these families. The first account of the progeny of that brother, who fixed in the middle of the kingdom, is in a recovery, by Robert de Lawethorpe to William Pocklington* and Elizabeth his wife, of a property, at Scarle near Newark, first Henry VIII. From this period we will take up the pedigree of this family; which, though, perhaps, not sufficiently early to flatter the propensities of vanity, will be enough for the future protection of genealogical pretensions amidst the ravages of time.

MUSKHAM GRANGE (a house so denominated by it's author, the Rev. — Phillips, about the conclusion of the seventeenth century) surrounded by some hundred acres of land, purchased from various proprietors, is in the possession of the author of these pages. Large additions have lately been made to it, in which spacious apartments, and convenient appendages, have been the principal object of attention.

THE patronage of the united vicarages of North Muskham and Caunton, is in the prebendary of North Muskham, in the church of Southwell. The revenues arise from lands in North Muskham and its hamlets, and a mansion house in Southwell, severally demised on leases for lives.

THE church is dedicated to St. Wilfrid, and is of the stile of Edward III. It appears to have been larger in former times, as there are many marks of its separation from other walls, and imperfect traces of foundations. In the floor of the chancel are two stones commemorating two persons of the name of Woolhouse. This

* It appears by a note among the Shrewsbury collection of letters in the Herald's College, that a fine of 25l. was charged on this William, by a privy seal in the 30th year of Queen Eliz. which Roger Manners of Uffington procured the intercession of George earl of Shrewsbury to have remitted by the crown.

family possessed estates in both the Muskhams during the sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Toward the conclusion of the latter they migrated to Firbeck in the county of York, and sold their lands at South Muskham to Mr. William Welby, and at North Muskham to Mr. George Melburn. These families were afterwards united, by the marriage of the son and heir of Welby with the daughter and heiress of Melbourn, and Mr. Richard Welby (issue of that marriage) is now proprietor of lands in North Muskham and Bathley. This family is descended from the elder (though disinherited) branch of an ancient, wealthy, and honorable house, as will be best elucidated by the annexed pedigree.

A small portion of the painted glass, mentioned by Thoroton, remains in the windows of the church, but of that little scarcely any is perfect. The three bucks' heads, noticed by him as the arms of Gernon, (and which there is reason to believe were assumed by Sir Thomas Barton) with the additional device of the last mentioned family, a bear and a tun*, are still to be found scattered in various places.

* IN the time of the crusades armorial ornaments, with all their appendages of crests, supporters, mottos, and other devices, claimed no inconsiderable portion of the attention of every man considering himself as a gentleman. Sanguine heralds carry the origin of arms, and other devices of those kinds, as far back as to the tribes of Israel, each of which, it has been observed by Camden, had a standard of its own, with some device in the nature of arms. The Carians, the Lacedemonians, and the Messonians, are observed by the same author to have imitated the practice of the Israelites. Passing over these, and similar instances of *extreme* antiquity, it is clear from Suetonius that coats of arms were badges of honor among the Romans, for, speaking of the obscurity of the house of Flavia, he writes that it was "sine ullis armorum imaginibus." Camden is of opinion that arms were introduced into England about the time of Henry I, and that they became hereditary about the time of Richard I, and gives plausible reasons for this judgment. The appendant ornaments of armorial shields, such as mottos, anagrams, rebusses, allusions, "and other such fooleries" he thinks are of the age of Edward III, and were introduced from France. "These things," writes he, "were so well liked by our English here, that, he was nobody who could not hammer out of his name an invention by this wit-craft, and picture it accordingly. Thus Sir Thomas Cavall, because Cavall signifies a horse, engraved a galloping horse in his seal, and added this limping verse,"

"THOMÆ credite, cum cernitis ejus equum.

Within the communion rails of the chancel is an altar tomb to the memory of one Thomas Smith, the donor of a charity to the poor of Muskham. It runs thus—

“ Here lieth the corpse of Thomas Smith,
 “ Meat for worms to feed therewith.
 “ Whose soul is gone to God on hie,
 “ Thro’ Xt’s merits, and God’s mercie.
 “ Whose body I hope shall rise again
 “ And ever with Christ for to remayne.
 “ Deceased the second day of May
 “ Being in years of age thirty and three. 1581.

“ HE hath caused a glorious testament to be made of his liberal
 “ devotion towards the poor.”

• Then follows a list of his benefactions, much mutilated; but enough is legible to discern that 2s. annually was bequeathed to each of X poor persons dwelling in Muskham, Holme, and Bathley.—IIII Sermons to be preached at Muskham annually.—IIII Nobles each to be paid for IIII years to certain scholars of Pembroke Hall Cambridge, natives of Nottinghamshire.—VI Loads of coals annually to the poor of Sutton.

“ So John Eagleshead, with an eagle’s head set down this.”

“ Hoc aquilæ caput est, signumque figura Johannis.”

“ THE Abbot of Ramsey set in his seal a ram in the sea, with this verse to shew his superiority in
 “ the Convent.

“ Cujus signa gero dux gregis est, ut ego.”

“ AND William Chandler, warden of new college in Oxford, playing with his own name, so filled
 “ the hall windows with candles, and these words, “ fiat lux,” that he darkened the hall.”

A thousand more of these instances might be cited from the same author, but these are sufficient for our present purpose, which is to shew the reason why the arms assumed by this family of Barton are every where ornamented by a bear and a tun.—Vid. Camden’s Remains.

ON a small mural monument in the chancel is the following inscription to another of the family of Woolhouse before-mentioned, who appears to have been the last buried here.

In memoriam Wilhelmi Woolhouse
 Qui cum Elizabethâ fidelissimâ illius.
 Conjuge, & Henrico filio minore natu.
 Dilectissimo, hic infra sepultus jacet.
 Obiit nonas Decembris anno a partu
 Virgineo MDCLXIII
 Materno LXIII.

THERE are no other monuments, or antiquities about this church particularly worthy of notice. One John Kemp lies under a plain stone, who left an estate to the poor of Muskham, making the vicar, overseer of the poor, and the churchwarden for the time being, trustees. It consists of land in the parish of North Muskham, now let for twelve pounds per annum, but supposed to be worth considerably more. Another stone in the floor commemorates the death of a Mr. Cooper, who lived here about the middle of the last century, in a situation of great privacy, owing to some quarrel with his family, which is said to be respectable in Shropshire and Staffordshire.

OTHER stones commemorate the persons who are deposited beneath them, but there are none that particularly claim the attention of the antiquary or historian.

HOLME, it has been already observed, was a hamlet to North Muskham, being placed on the opposite side of the Trent by the alteration which took place in the channel of that river about the year 1600, when

it came to be considered in some sort as a distinct parish; at least to the extent of maintaining of its own poor, and the appointment of separate parochial officers. The chapel is still, however, an appendage to the vicarage of North Muskham, and a portion of the vicar's stipend arises out of lands in Holme, allotted to him at the inclosure of the lordship, in lieu of tithes.

THOROTON records the names of the chief proprietors in Holme in 1612, but it appears, by a very ancient register of the chapel, that very few of them were inhabitants of the place. From both it may be collected, that the principal resident family was that of Barton, descended from a wealthy merchant of the staple in Lancashire, who purchased the estate at Holme, and built, as well the chapel, as a large family mansion here. In the windows of this house he recorded the origin of his wealth in the following quaint *posie* (as Thoroton calls it).

I thank my God, and ever shall
It was the sheep that paid for all.

SIR Thomas Barton knight, is the first of the family whom we find distinctly mentioned by *name* as residing at Holme, and he probably died before the year 1569, as that is the first (which remains) of the chapel register, and he is not mentioned in it. The pedigree of the Barton family, as well as it can be collected from the register (which is remarkably correct so far as it extends) is here inserted, as matter of some curiosity, at least to those families who claim a connection with it.

It appears by this that Ranulphus Barton, the son of Sir Thomas Barton, had, at least, eight children by his wife Eleanor, of

whom one, Catherine, died unmarried aged 61. Four, viz. two Elea-
nors, John, and Robert, died in the respective years of their births:
Grace, married Henry the son of Lord Viscompt Bellasys. Ralph,
the eldest son, was in possession of the mansion house and estate
at Holme in 1612, and in 1677 it was the property of Lord Bellasys*.
We are not any where informed positively how it came into the pos-
session of the Bellasys family, whether by purchase, or inheritance ;
But from the marriage of Grace Barton, before-mentioned, with
many other circumstances, some of which will be hereafter noticed
in the observations on Holme chapel, I incline to think that Ralph
the only remaining male heir of the family of Barton died without
issue, and that all his sisters (excepting Grace) whose marriages
and deaths are unaccounted for in the register of Holme, did
the same. What tends materially to sanction this conjecture is,
that the property under consideration was not merged in the
great possessions of the elder branch possessing the title; but
seems to have been settled, by deed or devise, on the younger son
of Lord Bellasys, and continued with his descendants till the
year 1716; when, by the decease of the last Mr. Bellasys with-
out issue, it reverted to his relation the representative of the
ancient honors of Lord Bellasys, the Earl of Fauconberg. This
with other lands in Muskham were sold a few years since to Henry
duke of Newcastle, with whose grandson they remain at this
day.

THERE are many other proprietors of lands in Holme, the principal
of whom was lately Mr. Thomas Frost of Nottingham, who a few years
since built a commodious mansion house here, but in a bad situation.

* THOROT, Antiq. of Notts.

This estate is now in the possession of his only daughter and heiress, the widow of — Gawthorne of Nottingham*.

THE chapel of Holme, it has been already observed, on the authority of a writer often cited, † was erected by an ancestor of Sir Thomas Barton. It is in a general view, of the style of most of the churches hereabouts, which is that prevalent one of Edward III. Some additions have obviously been made to it in later times, especially a second chancel, at the south-east corner ‡; also a porch, with a chamber over it, on the south side. In this chancel appear to be inhumed several persons of the families of Barton, and of Bellasys. On the north side of it stands a very large, and curious, altar tomb, on which are two recumbent effigies, a man and a woman; the man apparently somewhat corpulent and advanced in years; and underneath the effigies of

* SECKER, Archbishop of Canterbury, devised considerable estates by his will to charitable uses, and among them was this at Holme. It is a trite observation that every man has two characters. This was eminently verified in the instance of Secker. Not a few have been his panegyrists; and if we give credit to them, the Archbishop was a man of even apostolical sincerity, and more than primitive simplicity. Others, apprised that he was educated among the most rigid of the dissenters, attribute his conversion to the faith and ceremonies of the English Church, to motives of mere worldly interest, and the prospects of ecclesiastical promotion; and not a few of them assure us that so unsteady was his faith, and so unprincipled his conversion, that he died a member of the Methodist communion. To this description of persons it seems improbable that such a man as Secker could be ignorant of the effects of the statutes of Mortmain, and therefore they conclude that as he lived without principle, he died without sincerity; that his professions were hypocrisy, and his donations ostentation. It is difficult to decide between such apparent contradictions as are to be found in the conduct of this prelate. That he could be ignorant of the Mortmain acts does certainly appear extraordinary, but that such a profligate imposition should have disgraced the last moments of a reasonable man, as some would attribute to the Archbishop's will, is almost beyond the bounds of credibility. Be this matter however as it may, Mr. Frost claimed the estates devised to charitable uses, as heir at law of Secker, and succeeded in his demand.

† THOROT. Antiq. of Notts.

‡ THESE additional chancels in former times were built by persons of superior rank as places of sepulture, and also to contain altars dedicated to particular favorite saints, whose intercession one or more chantry priests were benedicted to pray for on behalf of the departed souls of the family interred below.

a youth in an emaciated state, as if intended to represent a person in the last stage of a consumption. Round the margin of the base, and plainly allusive to the disease of the person represented by the skeleton-like figure, are the following words.

Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos amici mei,
Quia manus domini tetigit me.

No part of any other inscription is remaining on this tomb to inform us to whose memory it was erected, but at the feet of the male figure lies the invariable emblem of the Barton family, a tun*. The style of the monument, and the circumstances of the family, would induce one to suppose it might be erected in honor of Ranulphus Barton, who died in 1592, and his wife Eleanor, who died in the following year, and of their son Ralph Barton, who appears to have died young and without issue.

ON a plain blue slab in the floor of this chancel, near to the last mentioned tomb, is the following inscription.

HERE lie interred the bodies of
John Bellasys of Holme in the
County of Nottingham Esq.
And Catherine his wife. Catherine
died the tenth of March 1716, and
Mr. Bellasys the 10th. of April 1717.
Requiescant in pace.

* To what has been observed before on the subject of armorial bearings and appellative devices, take what Hume says in his History of King Richard I. "It was during the Crusades that the custom of using coats of arms were first introduced into Europe." The Knights cased up in armour, had no way to make themselves be known and distinguished in battle, but by the devices on their shields; and these were gradually adopted by their posterity and their families, who were proud of the pious and military enterprises of their ancestors.

THE porch, attached to the south side of this chapel, is, (as many, if not most porches to churches, are) a modern addition*. Over the door are introduced seven shields bearing the arms of the Barton and Bellasys families, and those with whom, in their different generations, they connected themselves. In the center, as I take it, are the original arms used by the great ancestor of the Bartons, to which by way of supporters are added a sheep and a lamb with full fleeces; indicative, as was the poetry before noticed, of the source from which the family derived its wealth. The next on the dexter side presents the arms of Gernon, three bucks' heads, ornamented with the bear and tun, as they appear on the walls, and in the windows, of many parts of this chapel, as well as of North Muskharn church, especially the north aisle of the latter, which is modern compared with the tower and body of the building, and was, probably, erected partly by the munificence of the family of Barton, after they had connected themselves with the neighboring one of Gernon. The only other shield on this porch which can be particularly interesting to our present enquiry is the last on the sinister side, which presents the arms of Barton united with those

* OVER this porch is a chamber called, as far back as memory or tradition reach, Nan Scot's Chamber. The story, of which this lady is the heroine, has been handed down with a degree of precision and uniformity, which entitles it to more credit than most such tales deserve. The last great plague which visited this kingdom, is reported to have made particular havock in the village of Holme, which is likely enough to have happened from its vicinity to Newark, where it is known to have raged with peculiar violence. During its influence, a woman of the name of Ann Scot, is said to have retired to this chamber with a sufficient quantity of food to serve her for several weeks. Having remained there unmolested till her provisions were exhausted, she came from her hiding place either to procure more, or to return to her former habitation, as circumstances might direct her choice. To her great surprise she found the village entirely deserted, only one person of its former inhabitants, except herself, being there alive. Attached to this asylum, and shocked by the horrors of the scene without, she is said to have returned to her retreat, and to have continued in it till her death, at an advanced period of life! A few years since many of her habiliments were remaining in this chamber, as also a table (the size of which evidently manifested it to have been constructed within the room) with some smaller pieces of furniture.

of Bellasys, a circumstance which in some degree tends to confirm the conjecture lately hazarded respecting the consequences of the union between these two families.

SACRISTA. This is the last of the ten prebends, which we find founded in this church before the conquest. Its revenues arise from lands in the parishes of Southwell and Bleasby, and the tenth part of the pentecostal offerings, (which have been before explained). The Sacrista prebendary also has a mansion house in the town of Southwell.

BECKINGHAM is the earliest of the six prebends, whose foundations we can trace to their origin. We have seen, it was given to the church of Southwell by Thurstan, archbishop of York, in the reign of Henry I. The revenues are furnished by lands and tithes, let on lease for three lives, in the parish of Beckingham, and a fourth share of an estate in the parish of Edingley, holden in common with the chapter of Southwell. Beckingham is a small village, about thirty miles to the north-east of Southwell; was long the manor and seat of a family of its name. Here was a chauntry, which Edward VI granted to two persons of the names of Reeve and Cotton, since which nothing remarkable is to be found respecting this village, unless it be what Thoroton records, that a doctor Howel, a laborious author of the history of the World, and of some other works, about the year 1670, was born here*. The Vicarage of Beckingham is in the gift of the prebendary. It was endowed by an ordination of William de Melton, archbishop of York, in 1318, as follows:—"With all oblations yearly accruing, cerage (wax money), and the tithe arising from the

* It would be matter of astonishment to any one, who would give himself the trouble of reading and comparing, to see how many modern publications on ancient history owe all their celebrity to the copious extracts, with which this "history of the world" has supplied them.

“servants of the parishioners at Easter, the tithe of calves, milk, butter, cheese, colts, hogs, ducks, hens, pigeons, bees, mills, apples, pears, swans, hemp, and flax, and mortuaries; all together valued at eight marks. Beside which, he is to receive forty shillings sterling, at the feasts of Pentecost and St. Martin, to be annually paid by the Canon of Beckingham. Moreover, he shall have the mansion called the priest’s house, paying for the same to the Canon six pence per ann. at the feast of all saints, All other things belonging to this church, not here mentioned, to belong to the Canon*.”

THE rectory of Beckingham was one of several belonging to the chapter of Southwell, for the alienation of which a licence was granted by the crown, 4 & 5 Ph. & Ma. but which still remain to them; being either restored at a subsequent period, or the authority of the licence invalidated, by the death of Mary, before an actual alienation took place.

LEVERTON or Legreton, is another of the prebends of Southwell. It was given at the same time as that of Beckingham, and, as we have seen before, was originally a part of it. This vicarage is in the gift of the prebendary.

THIS lordship with the contiguous one of Hablesthorpe, have a singularity belonging to them in the tenure of their lands, which is peculiar to themselves. All the lands in these two contiguous, and intermixed parishes in tenure, whether arable, meadow, or pasture, are distinguished by particular names, and exact breadths and dimensions; so that it is not possible for any disputes to arise by unfair ploughing, mowing, &c., as in other places: because every man knows, to the

* VID. Regist. Alb.

utmost nicety, in every part of these lordships, or parishes, *in tenure*, how many wards, rods, feet, or even inches, his land or lands in breadth ought to be. This *tenure* is in high estimation in the neighbourhood, and deserves particular examination.*

DUNHAM is the next in order. This prebend owes its foundation to the same beneficent prelate†. Its revenues consist of lands and tithes in Dunham, and a portion of the tithes in Morton. It has a mansion-house in the town of Southwell. The lands in Dunham, with which Henry I, at the instigation of Archbishop Thrustan, endowed this prebend, were in the hands of the crown, as early as the reign of Henry the Confessor. King Henry III granted the Manor of Dunham to William de Valence, earl of Pembroke, his brother, in whose descendants it continued through several centuries, till they became extinct‡. Dunham is a pleasant village, situate on the river Trent, more than twenty miles north-east of Southwell. The prebendary of Dunham is patron of the vicarage. In the White Book is a decree, dated 1414, by the commissaries of Southwell, Richard, Andrew, and William Lambley, in a cause between the inhabitants of Dunham and Richard Allerston, vicar there; wherein it is decreed, “that there shall be an able chaplain provided, dwelling within the town of Dunham and Wimpton, and the inhabitants of the same to be restored to their former situation, at the expences of the vicar aforesaid.”

HALLOUGHTON or Halton, forms the next prebend, founded by Roger, archbishop of York, and confirmed by Henry II§. This has been commonly called the Lay Prebend, having nothing

* VID. Throsby's additions to Thorot. Antiq. of Notts.

† VID. Regist. Alb.

‡ VID. Thorot. Antiq. of Notts.

§ VID. Regist. Alb.

spiritual but the tithes of its own lands, which lie within the parish. Halloughton is a small village about a mile south-west of Southwell*. The prebendal land here was let upon lease, for three lives, to a Mr. Prescott, who, a few years since, built a good house, and much improved the estate. It has, since then, been purchased by Sir Richard Sutton of Norwood, baronet.

RAMPTON, which was given in the same reign, by Pavia Malluvelþ, to form another prebend in this church, is a pleasant village near the river Trent, towards twenty miles north-east from Southwell. The revenues of this prebend consist of lands and tithes at Rampton, demised to a lessee for three lives, and a mansion-house at Southwell. The vicarage is in the patronage of the prebendary of Rampton. In 1301, is an ordination of Thomas de Corbridge, archbishop of York†, in which the vicarage of Rampton is said to consist of “a certain manse, and church land to the same belonging, with the tithes of wool, and lambs, and all other tithes great and small, and all obventions, the tithes of corn and hay only excepted, which belong to the prebendary.” This ordination takes notice, that some attempts had been lately made to alienate the land from the vicarage.

RAMPTON was long the residence and property of the family of that name, who founded the prebend, and came by regular descent from them to the present possessor, Ant^v. Hardolph, Eyre of Grove, Esquire, as appears from the annexed pedigree.

EATON or Idleton, so called from its vicinity to the river Idle, forms the sixteenth, and last, prebend in the church of Southwell. It was

* VID. Observations on the Map, Ant. Art, 38.

† VID. Regist. Alb.

‡ IBID.

founded, as we have seen, by John archbishop of York, in the year 1289. Its revenues arise from lands and tithes within the parish. It was only in the year 1286, that the Archbishop came into possession of the church of Eaton. Robert de Wolrington, by two deeds, bearing the same date, settled it on two different parties; by one on the Archbishop, by the other on the prior and convent of Worksop. How the prelate got the better is not upon record; but, that he very soon did so, appears by his making a prebend of it in the church of Southwell three years after*.—The vicarage of Eaton still continues in the patronage of the prebendary.

In 1290, this Archbishop made the following ordination, respecting the vicarage of Eaton. “That the vicar, for the time being, shall have the tithes of wool, lamb, mortuaries, oblations, and all other the small tithes of the parish of Eaton, together with turbarry belonging to the said church. Also the prebendary of Eaton, for the time being, shall pay to the vicar four marks sterling; the prebend to have the whole manse of the church with the edifices thereon, and all the great tithes, under what name soever, with all the land and meadow belonging to the church of Eaton, and also the tithes of hay†.” There is a decree also by the official of York, in a cause of tithes between the prebendary of Eaton and the Rector of Ordesale; By which the prebendary is to receive a moiety of the tithes of sheaves, and of hay, in certain disputed lands.

There is a considerable mansion-house at Eaton, long inhabited by a respectable family of the name of Mason‡, and lately much improved.

* VID. Regist. Alb.

† IBID.

‡ The present proprietor, is Geo. Mason Esquire, who has considerable property in this and the neighbouring lordships. A very respectable man, and intelligent magistrate.

We now come to the Government and Jurisdiction, Civil and Ecclesiastical.

And, first, of the Archbishop of York ; who is supreme head of this church, and of the liberty of Southwell, as well in matters Civil, as Ecclesiastical.

OSCITEL, one of the earliest archbishops of York, as will be noticed more at large in a subsequent page, first procured to the see the manor of Southwell*. Before his pontificate we meet with no mention of the Archbishops in any other character than as patrons of the church. From this time scarce a reign occurs, in which they did not receive grants of lands, in and about the town, privileges in the neighbouring forests, and immunities in the county of Nottingham. At length, some of them erected a stately palace here ; and Southwell became the favorite residence of the Archbishops, in their seasons of retirement. The last considerable instance of royal bounty to any of them, in respect of their manor of Southwell, is by a grant of Henry VI, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign, to William Booth, at that time archbishop, and his successors, of the return of all writs within, and upon, all and singular their demesnes, lands, tenements and fees, &c:† About this time, and under the protection of this prelate, it is has been generally supposed the, once magnificent, palace was erected. I have occasion, in another part of this work, to combat that opinion ; though there is good reason to suppose it might be considerably improved while the two Archbishops of that name filled the see.

SOUTHWELL is the head, or metropolis, if it may so be called, of a peculiar jurisdiction, both civil and ecclesiastical. These two jurisdic-

* VID. Regist. Alb.

† IBID.

tions are not coextensive. Twenty towns are within the liberty, or civil jurisdiction, and are as follow:

Within the Manor of Southwell,

SOUTHWELL, Bleasby, Blidworth, Edingley, Halam, Halloughton, Farnsfield, Kirklington, Morton, Upton.

Without the Manor of Southwell,

SCROOBY, Askham, Beckingham, Everton, Hayton Tilne and Clarborough, Lound, Lancham, Ranskill, Scarfworth, Sutton.

For this liberty, called *The Liberty of Southwell and Scrooby*, a sessions of the peace is holden, independent of the county, at the two towns of Southwell and Scrooby, by justices of the Archbishop's nomination, but under the King's commission.

THE ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or *peculiar of Southwell*, as it is generally stiled, in contra-distinction to the civil liberty, extends over twenty eight towns, viz.

SOUTHWELL, Beckingham, Bleasby, Blidworth, Calverton, Caunton, Cropwell Bishop, Carlton, Darlton, Dunham, Eaton, Edingley, Farnsfield, Halam, Halloughton, Holme, Kirklington, Morton, North Leverton, North Muskham, Norwell, Oxton, Ragnal, Rampton, South Muskham, South Wheatley, Upton, Woodborough.

THE Chapter, of Southwell, in the person of their vicar general, exercise, as I shall have further occasion to observe, all episcopal functions within the *peculiar*, except ordination and confirmation;

these being the only two not specified in the statute of the church, which gives to the vicar general his episcopal powers within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

IT has been already noticed, that the Archbishop of York is patron of the church of Southwell. In right of this patronage, the prebends are disposed of by him: but the vicar general is elected, out of the prebendaries, by the chapter; and, by the same authority, all the inferior officers of the church are appointed.

THE Archbishop of York is also visitor; and that, as well by the old constitution of the church, as by the royal statutes given to it at the time of the reformation.

WHEN Southwell was the residence of the Archbishops, it seems to have been particularly well adapted to hospitality and magnificence. They had four parks in its neighbourhood; 1. Southwell, or the little park; on the confines of which stood the palace, within a stone's cast of the church.— 2. The park of Hockerwood, about a mile to the north-east, (stated in the patent of Edward VI, to the Earl of Warwick, to contain one hundred and twenty acres).— 3. Norwood park, half a mile to the west;— and, 4. Hexgrave park, about four miles to the north-west, of Southwell.

SOUTHWELL park, in the patent of Edward VI, which is the first instance I find of its being mentioned, is called *the New park*, which seems to confirm the opinion that has long obtained in the place, of its having been made by Cardinal Wolsey, who resided very much here. Since the palace was destroyed, in the civil wars of the last century, this park has been divided into several small enclosures, and demised upon lease to different persons, Similar measures

have been adopted at Hockerwood, and Hexgrave, parks. Norwood park remains much in the same state, in which it was enjoyed by the luxurious Archbishops; save that it has, since then, had two handsome houses built in it by successive lessees. The former was erected by Mr. Edward Cludd, a famous parliamentary justice in the time of Charles I, (of whom a more particular account is given hereafter). He purchased this estate of the parliament during the troubles, but after the restoration became lessee under the Archbishop of York.

It does not appear whether any person lived in the house built by Cludd, for some years after his death, which happened in 1672. But it is likely this stiff parliamentarian would not benefit the Archbishop, more than was necessary for his own convenience: and, therefore, that, on the re-establishment of episcopacy, he took a lease of the park and house, (which he had built on the faith of his purchase from the parliament) only for his own life. What encreases the probability of this conjecture, is, that the estate seems to have been in the hands of the Archbishop in the year 1690; as it appears that, about this time, the residence house at Southwell was built, in a great measure, out of the profits arising from a sale of timber in Norwood park, directed by Thomas Lamplugh, then archbishop of York, for the purposes of the chapter*. In the beginning of this century it was in the possession of a William Burton, Esq. who, having also much improved the house, sold the lease of it, in 1731, to Edward Beecher, Esq. from whom it was purchased in 1747, by Sir Samuel Gordon, Bart.—It was purchased again in 1764 of him, by John Sutton, Esq. who pulled down the house erected here by Cludd, and built a magnificent mansion in a better situation. This John dying without children, the estates of the family descended to his brother

* VID. Regist. Alb.

Richard, the present baronet; who in 1778, procured an act of parliament, enabling him to exchange certain lands, (lately purchased by him of the Earl of Chesterfield) contiguous to the town of Southwell, with the see of York, for Norwood park. By these means, the family mansion and estate are become freehold, and the present possessor is every day making great additions to them, in this neighbourhood, by purchase.

THE soil and wood of the Archbishop of York in the forest of Shirewood, in right of his manor of Southwell, are described in one of the perambulations before-mentioned, which may be found in its proper place*.

THE Vicar general is the next officer of this church, of whom mention is to be made. His authority extends over twenty eight towns, before noticed as composing, what is called, the Peculiar of Southwell. In all matters relating to these he exercises episcopal jurisdiction, except (as has been observed) ordination and confirmation; and, in a word, he executes all the functions of the chapter, which are not specifically reserved to themselves, or to the residentiary for the time being, by some other of the statutes.

IN the year 1694 some disputes arose between the chapter and the vicar general, respecting the objects, and the extent of his jurisdiction. The chapter applied to the Archbishop for an interpretation of the statute of Elizabeth, which gives to this officer the powers above mentioned. Whether the Archbishop thought the statute too perspicuous to stand in need of his interference, or for what other reason, does not appear; but no such interpretation is to be found among

* VID App. No. 15.

the archives of this church. Soon after, however, viz. ap. 1695, a decree of chapter declared that "the vicar general ought, for the future, to exercise his power as heretofore."

THE persons who have successively filled this office, as far back as the records of the Chapter give us information, have been,

FIRST, F. Leeke*, elected 1661.

SECOND, S. Brunsel †.

THIRD, W. Mompesson ‡.

* THE Leekes are a very ancient family in the county of Nottingham. Thoroton deduces their pedigree, without difficulty or interruption, from the year 1141. The females of this family, in different generations, gave birth to the famous Countess of Shrewsbury, and an Earl of Scarsdale. The male branches flourished in different parts of the country till the end of the seventeenth century, when they appear to have been extinct, the last of one of them being Sir Francis Leeke of Newark, and of the other the subject of this article.

† This gentleman founded three exhibitions in Jesus college Cambridge, and he endowed them with salaries of eight pounds per annum.

‡ The family of Mompesson is of considerable antiquity in the county of Nottingham; it has given many worthy members to the church of England, and especially to that of Southwell. The first, of whom I meet with any authentic record, was William Mompesson, rector of Eakring, at the latter end of the sixteenth century; whose son William, and grandson George, were successively prebendaries, and vicars general, of the church of Southwell. The last male heir of this name, was William, vicar of Mansfield, in this county, who died in 1737, leaving three daughters. The subject of this article became a prebendary of this church at the time of the restoration. He was an inhabitant of the town previous to that event, and is said to have conferred with Monk relative to the disposition of the people in favor of the King's cause, when that general passed through Southwell in his way from Scotland. Some future pages, however, being dedicated to more particular information on this subject, it becomes unnecessary to dwell longer upon it in this place. We will proceed, therefore, to the relation of other particulars respecting him, not less worthy of being recorded, in as much as they afford an example of fortitude, resignation, and charity, almost without parallel.

FOURTHLY, G. Mompesson.

MR. MOMPESSEON was rector of Eyam, a small village in the high peak of Derbyshire. This was one of the last places in this kingdom which was visited by the plague. The summer after its ravages in London it was conveyed to that village in patterns of taylor's cloth. Raging with great violence, it carried off four fifths of the inhabitants. Mr. Mompesson, the rector, was at that time in the vigor of his youth; his wife a beautiful young lady by whom he had a son and daughter. On the commencement of the disorder, Mrs. Mompesson threw herself, with her babes, at the feet of her husband, to supplicate his flight from that devoted place; but not even the entreaties and tears of a beloved wife could induce him to desert his flock, in those hours of danger and dismay. Equally fruitless were his solicitations that she would retire with her infants. The result of this pathetic conference was a resolve to send their children away, and to abide together the fury of the pestilence. The disorder broke out early in April, and ceased the latter end of October. Mr. Mompesson, from a rational belief that assembling in the crowded church for public worship, during the summer heat, must increase and spread the contagion, read prayers twice a week, and preached twice on a Sunday, from a perforated arch in a rock hard by, while his congregation were seated on a grassy bank in a level direction with his rocky pulpit. The church yard soon ceased to afford room for the dead, and they were buried in a heathy hill above the village. This dauntless minister of God remained in health during the whole ravage of the pestilence. Among other precautions against the disease, Mrs. Mompesson prevailed on him to have an incision made upon his leg, and kept open. One day she observed appearances in the wound, which induced her belief that the contagion had found a vent that way, and, therefore, that its danger was over as to him. Instead of being shocked that the pestilence had entered her house, and that her weakness, for she was not in health, must next endure its fury, she expressed the most rapturous joy for the supposed deliverance of her beloved husband. Mrs. Mompesson herself soon after sickened of this fatal disorder, and expired in her husband's arms in the 27th year of her age. Her monument still remains in the church yard at Eyam.—When first the plague broke out in this parish, Mr. Mompesson wrote to the then Earl of Devonshire residing at Chatsworth, stating that he thought he could prevail upon his parishioners to confine themselves within the limits of the village, if the surrounding country would supply them with necessaries, to be left in appointed places. The proposal was punctually complied with, and though, the pestilence became fatal beyond description, not a single inhabitant attempted to pass the deathful boundaries of the village. Thus, by the influence of this exemplary man operating on the admiration and gratitude of his affectionate parishioners, the rest of the county of Derby wholly escaped the plague, though it raged in Eyam for seven months. Dr. Mead, in the last edition of his book on poisons, has recorded the prudence and perseverance of the rector of Eyam. Mr. Mompesson afterwards became rector of Eakring in Nottinghamshire, and prebendary of Southwell. While possessed of these preferments he married Mrs. Nuby, relict of Charles Nuby Esq. by whom he had two daughters. The deanery of Lincoln was offered him, but he declined it in favor of his friend Dr. Fuller. He died in 1708. In the summer of 1757 five persons were digging on the heath above Eyam, where had been the burying place of the parish during the plague, when they were seized with putrid fevers, and three of them died. The infection became mortal to many of the inhabitants. Vid, Gent. Mag. for April 1801.

FIFTH, W. Gregory*.

SIXTH, A. Mathews.

SEVENTH, S. Berdmore †.

EIGHTH, T. Cockshut ‡.

NINTH, W. Rastall §.

* THIS gentleman was of an ancient and respectable family in the town of Nottingham, of which a full account may be found in the historic pages of Deering and Thoroton.

† DR. SCROPE BERDMORE was vicar of St. Mary's church in the town of Nottingham, as his father, Samuel Berdmore, and his cousin, Thomas Berdmore, had been before him. His mother was a Scrope, from whom he took that name. He left issue the present Dr. Scrope Berdmore, one of the prebendaries of the church of Southwell, and the worthy head of Merton college in the university of Oxford. Dr. Berdmore, for many years master of the charter house, was the son of Thomas Berdmore before mentioned, the relation, and predecessor in the vicarage of St. Mary's, of the subject of this article. Mr. Thomas Berdmore, the celebrated dentist, was brother to Dr. Berdmore the Master of the charter house. His remains are interred in St. Mary's church at Nottingham, where a neat monument records his professional celebrity.

‡ THIS gentleman was a native of Yorkshire, his brother was a respectable merchant in the vicinity of Rotherham. He was not particularly distinguished for any quality or accomplishment that can be expected to arrest the pen of the biographer; but passed "the noiseless tenor of his way" with the reputation of integrity and good humour. He lived, and died, at Retford in the county of Nottingham, being rector of Ordsall in its neighbourhood.

§ THE Rev. Wm. Rastall was the only surviving Son of Samuel Rastall (noticed in the pedigree of Dickinson of Muskham,) by Ann, the only surviving daughter of Edmund Dickinson of Claypole in the county of Lincoln. He was born in August 1724, and was educated at Eton school. In 1742 he was admitted of Jesus college Cambridge under the late Dr. Lyndford Caryl, who was then tutor, and took his bachelor's degree in 1746.—He soon after was invited to Peter-house college to accept of a bye fellowship in that Society, but his father dying, he became disqualified by his property from accepting it. He returned to Jesus college for his degree of doctor in divinity, in compliment to his old tutor, and particular friend, Dr. Caryl, who had now long been master of that society. Soon after he was in priest's orders he was presented by John duke of Rutland to the rectory of Waltham on the Wolds in Leicestershire, which he held till his death.

IN 1754 he married Mary, the only daughter of Major Allgood of Branton in Northumberland, a near relation of Sir Launcelot Allgood knight of that shire. His property and connections in this county brought him acquainted with the late Dutchess of Northumberland, who, during the administration of Lord Bute, would have procured for him the great living of Simonburn, on condition of his residing upon it. Having received many tokens of friendship from the marquis of Granby, who was then a popular, and a very powerful character, he consulted his lordship on the propriety of accepting this proposal. Lord Granby advised him to decline the profered boon, with its annexed condition; procured for him the prebend of Normanton in the church of Southwell, and assured him of his constant patronage, and undeviating protection; a promise, of which death prevented the performance. Soon after this he received from Thomas, duke of Newcastle, the rectory of Cromwell in Nottinghamshire. A very severe indisposition, aggravated and protracted, by the injudicious treatment of a superannuated physician, blunted, in the meridian of life, the faculties, and paralyzed the bodily exertions, of the subject of this little memoir. To produce short intervals of relief from almost continual pain became the primary and constant object of his remaining days. He was too much enfeebled to adopt the usual modes of rising higher in his profession, solicitation, and attendance. The only person, upon whom he had a rightful and indisputable claim, was of a temperament never to concede an obligation, but to personal importunity; and in this instance personal importunity was neither palatable nor practicable. In the latter part of his life he received from his old friend and diocesan, Green, bishop of Lincoln, the mastership of St. Leonard's Hospital in the town of Newark; and from the votes of his brethren, the prebendaries of Southwell, the vicar general's office in that church. To his duty in these two pieces of preferment he devoted the attention of his latter days with particular pleasure, and an unusual animation; attributable, perhaps, in some degree, to their having been bestowed upon him without solicitation, and thereby conveying a silent censure on those, upon whom he had acknowledged claims sanctioned by service, and guaranteed by the sacred pledge of promise. Till he took an active part in the concerns of the church of Southwell, her revenues were suffered to diminish, her fabricks to decay, and her jurisdiction to be trampled upon. The first he augmented by having surveys taken, and estimates made, of her estates; the last he supported by that judicious mixture of dignified authority, temperate argument, and polite concession, which are not often found united in the same person, and are still less frequently adapted with propriety to the occasions that call for their various applications. Under his particular influence, assisted by his personal activity, and, in some degree aided by his bounty, the church itself was considerably improved, the vicarage was rebuilt, the residentiary's house was enlarged, and the environs were beautified.

IN his capacity of master of St. Leonard's hospital a very contracted field for exertion was presented, but even of that he was not a negligent cultivator. The principal property of this establishment was in the hands of Robert Cracroft Esquire, as heir and devisee of the celebrated Dr. Wilson, vicar of Newark, on lease for lives. A renewal of this lease was soon solicited on the part of the lessee, on which occasion the master, foregoing the personal advantages which presented themselves in a heavy fine, contented himself with a very moderate, or, more properly speaking, a very inconsiderable one, and proportionably increased the annual reserved rent, in augmentation of the eleemosinary stipends.

TENTH, R. Heathcote*.

ON his living of Cromwell he principally resided during the last fifteen years of his life, where he discharged the duties of a parish priest with exemplary punctuality, hospitality, and decorum. To sum up his public character in few words, he was dignified, without pride; liberal, without profusion; exact, without severity; too independent to be servile, but too benevolent not to be courteous. The reader may, perhaps, enquire "if this man had no faults?" the writer, and none could know him better, unequivocally answers "he had none". Foibles and frailties are the inheritance of humanity: with the few of these, which were *his* lot, the world were not concerned; they were the effects of morbid inactivity, and shed no influence beyond the limits of his own fire side.

—"Vitiis nemo sine nascitur; optimus ille est
 "Qui minimis urgetur."
 "Rursus, quid virtus, et quid sapientia possit,
 "Utile proposuit nobis exemplar."

* AMPLIFICATION is the only task left for the biographers of this gentleman, as, a few years before his death he printed (for the amusement of his friends) a succinct account of his own life, as follows,

SOME ACCOUNT OF

RALPH HEATHCOTE, D. D. 1789

"FUGIO ne fugarer"—"I fly lest I should be driven away," said an university professor upon a critical emergency*; and I write this account of myself, lest others should relate of me, what may not belong to me. † Nor must it be imputed to vanity, that I suppose any attention will be paid to my memory: the privilege of being recorded after death, whatever the value of it, is now become an appendage of authorship; insomuch that the most insignificant accounts of the most insignificant men are hence deemed objects of amusement for the public.

* PETER BARO, *Athen. Oxon.*

† THE hint was suggested to me, some very short time ago, by the following passage from a work entitled, *The Life of John Bunce Esq.* vol. II, p. 249, 256. "It is not the opinion of the Socinians, that Christ was a mere man. It is plain from this assertion, that the *Rev. Dr. Heathcote*, in his *Remarks on the true and candid Disquisitions*, knows nothing of them. Yet unfriendly as he hath been in his account of the Socinians, you are not thence to conclude, that he belongs to the orthodox party. He is far from it: and therefore I recommend to your perusal, not only what he has written upon the *free and candid Disquisitions*, and his finer *Boyle Lecture sermons* on the being of a God, but also his *Cursory animalversions upon the controversy concerning the miraculous powers*, and his *remarks on Chapman's Charge* "They are three excellent pamphlets." Now it is very certain, that Dr. H. never wrote any *Remarks on the free and candid Disquisitions*, nor even knew that such *Remarks* were written.

MY family is of Chesterfield in Derbyshire; and, for a family in middle life, ancient and respectable. There is extant among our records a will, signed by a person of both my names; a considerable tradesman and alderman of that town, who therein provides decently for five sons and four daughters:* it is dated, *anno* 1502. The landed property of the house was afterwards much increased, but wasted (the greatest part of it) by an eldest son, a fine gentleman of the times: who, in the civil wars of the last century, while his family continued loyal, † became a *Cromwellian*; and, as tradition reports, contrived to get his father proscribed and imprisoned, for the sake of prematurely possessing it. What little remained of this said property, was inherited by my great grandfather, a younger son; and transmitted down through my grandfather and father to me. These were all of both my names; men liberally educated at Cambridge, who had decent preferment in the church, and were esteemed for their good sense, probity, and learning, by all who knew them.

I was born the 19th of December (O. S.) in 1721, at Barrow upon Soar in the county of Leicester, where my father, then very young, was only a curate: far alas, good man! by marrying a daughter of Simon Ockley, arabic professor at Cambridge, while attending his lectures, he had provided for himself a family, before he had provided wherewithal to maintain it. I spent the first fourteen years of my life at home with my father, who grounded me in latin and greek; and was then, April 1736, removed to the public school of Chesterfield aforesaid: where I continued five years under the Rev. William Burrow, a very ingenious as well as humane person, and who was more than ordinarily skilled in the greek. He had too, (let me observe it) by his manner of commenting and expatiating upon our lessons, the art of opening the understanding, and teaching the use and exercise of it, ‡ while he seemed to be only teaching the languages; beyond any man I ever knew.

APRIL 1741. I was admitted of Jesus college Cambridge. I was admitted a sizar for the sake of œconomy, as we were a *numerous* tribe at home *et fruges consumere nati*; yet œconomy in reality was little concerned. the difference between sizar and pensioner, either as to expence or manner of living, being (in our society at least) next to nothing. I took the degree of A. B. in January 1745; and, after continuing in college till the commencement following, I went into the country, and became a divine soon after. March 1746, I undertook the cure of St. Margarets church in Leicester, the stipend and perquisites of which were not less than 50l. per annum; and the year after was presented to Barkby, a small vicarage in the neighbourhood, but which with my curacy made me *well to live*, as the saying

* —and if, says he, any of my sonnes wyll be a priest, I wyll that he be sent to the schole, till he is able; and then his part of land to be divided among the other.

† In my possession is a receipt to his father for two Pounds lent to King Charles I, dated 21 Feb. 1626, in form following—“Scarsdale in com. Derby. Received the day and year above written of Godfrey Heathcote of Chesterfield in the county of Derby, Gent. the some of two pounds, which the sayd Godfrey Heathcote hath lent unto the Kinge's most excellent majestie; I say, received to his Majestie's use the sayd some of 2l. 0.0. by me Adam Eyre collector.”—These royal loans were one of the four things, remonstrated against in the *Petition of right*, presented to Charles I, May 1628; and for opposing which Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards Earl of Strafforde, had been committed a prisoner to the Marshalsea by the lords of the council. Strafford's life at the end of his Letters in two volumes folio.

‡ DOES not the *general* difference between Man and Man consist in this?

is. July 1748, I took the degree of A. M. and at the same time withdrew my name from college, having only a distant as well as uncertain prospect of a fellowship, and being in truth of an humour no ways suited to such situations and connections. I had, besides, another fellowship in view; and, August 1750, was married to Miss Margarett Mompesson, a Nottinghamshire gentlewoman of good family, whose fortune made me in my own estimation independent, and with whom I have lived very happily to this hour.

BUT to go back a little. In 1746, I printed at Cambridge, and published a small latin work, of seventy two pages in 8vo, entitled *Historia Astronomiæ, sive de ortu et progressu Astronomiæ*; which, though it cannot well be considered otherwise than as a juvenile production, was yet kindly received by the university, * and laid the foundation of that little merit I have since acquired in the world of letters. It was then imagined, and indeed the professor Rutherford noticed it in his public speech to me at my doctor's degree, that I undertook this work, in order to make amends for some defect of character, when I took my first degree in arts; and when, although I was not *without honour*, yet I was not distinguished in the manner that was expected from me, How far this might be the case, I cannot pretend to say. Whether my taste or prejudices for the classics, with whom I had been long and intimately conversant, (being in my twentieth year, before I left school) had any ways indisposed me for mathematical and physical attainments, or whether because no encouragement was given to them in college, † certain it is, that I had no impulse towards academical learning, nor then could bring myself to apply at all to it. What I have known in this way, which however has not been to any mathematical depth, was acquired afterwards.

THE Middletonian controversy upon the *miraculous powers* &c. being not yet ended, though indeed Dr. Middleton himself was dead, I was moved to enter the lists, and in 1752 published two pieces; one, entitled *Cursory Animadversions* upon the controversy in general, the other, *Remarks upon a Charge by Dr. Chapman*. It will hardly be credited, what diffidence I felt, when I began the former piece; and still less, when I mention the cause of this diffidence. But it is a real matter of fact, that, though I had gone through a school and a college, and had produced a Latin work, which, notwithstanding many mistakes and oversights, had been applauded even for its language, I could not yet express myself tolerably in English; but, after I had stepped into my 29th year, had the *writing* part of my native tongue almost entirely to acquire. I mention this chiefly to note, what I take to be a great defect in most of the grammar schools, *viz.* a total neglect to cultivate our own language: as if the learning of latin would teach boys, not only to *spell*, as the vulgar imagine, but also to *write*, English.— In 1753, I published a *Letter* to the Rev. Thomas Fothergill, A. M. Fellow of Queens College, Oxford, relating to his Sermon preached before that University, 30 Jan. 1753, *upon the Reasonableness and Uses of commemorating King Charles's Martyrdom*. A slight production; yet sufficient perhaps to shew, that there is neither *reason* nor *use* in any such commemoration.

* LONG'S Astronomy. vol 11, p. 648.

† FIFTEEN lectures in Watts' Logic, were all I ever received from my tutors.

UPON the publication of my first *Middletonian* pamphlet, my Bookseller transmitted the compliments of *Dr. Warburton* to the unknown author; for I had not yet courage enough to set my name to my English productions. I was greatly surprised; but soon after perceived, that, *Warburton's* state of authorship being a state of war, it was his custom to be particularly attentive to all young authors of forward aspiring spirit, in hopes of enlisting them afterwards into his service. Accordingly when my second pamphlet came out, he learned my name; and sent me not only his compliments, but the offer of his assistant preacher's place at Lincoln's Inn chapel, with the stipend of half a guinea for each sermon. The stipend to be sure was paltry, but the offer and the place were very agreeable to me: for I had some time before formed a scheme of living in London, in order to associate and converse with *Literati*, and more effectually to gratify my humour, which, partly from the love of letters, but chiefly from ill health, was grown more retired and studious. I removed to town, June 1753; and soon found my way into a society of gentlemen, who met once a week to drink coffee, and to *talk learnedly* for three or four hours. This society, as it was called, consisted of Dr. Jortin, Dr. Birch, Mr. Wetstein, Mr. Demissy, Dr. Maty, and one or two more; and it flourished till the death of Birch in 1766, though it was weakened by the departure of Jortin to Kensington in 1762.

THE works of Lord Bolingbroke were published in 1754; and, as all were ready to shew their zeal (not forgetting their parts and learning) against heterodoxy and irreligion, so in 1755 I also published what I called a *Sketch of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy*: though indeed my object was, to vindicate the moral attributes of the deity, where Lord Bolingbroke was chiefly original, other matters being only touched occasionally. The latter end of this year, came out the *Use of reason asserted in matters of religion*, in answer to a sermon preached by Dr. Patten at Oxford, 13 July 1755; and, the year after, a defence of this against Dr. Patten who had replied. These were favourably received by the public; yet, when the heat of controversy was over, I could not look into them myself without disgust and pain. The spleen of *Middleton*, and the petulancy of *Warburton*, who were then the writers in vogue, had too much infected me, as they had other young scribblers; though I never had the honor to be, of what *Hume* in his *life* calls the *Warburtonian school*. The substance however of these two pieces, purged entirely from all that ferment, which usually agitates theological controversy, came forth in my *Concio ad Clerum*, preached at Cambridge for my doctor in divinity's degree, July 4, 1759.

BETWEEN the two pieces on the *Use of reason*, and the *Defence* of the same, I published, at the request of the sheriff and grand jury, an assize sermon preached at Leicester, August 12, 1756. It was about this time, that I engaged (sorely against my inclination, but at the pressure of my friend Jortin) in the *Biographical dictionary*, which was published in eleven volumes 8vo, in 1761: the articles, Simon Ockley, and Dr. Robert James, belong particularly to me. In 1763, 4, 5, I preached the *Boylean lectures* in St. James's church Westminster, by the appointment of Secker archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Devonshire, who were the trustees. This appointment was very *apropos* to me: for the matter was a good deal of it prepared, in my pieces against Bolingbroke and Patten; so that I had nothing to do, but to mould it into the form of lectures. They consisted of twenty four;

two of which, making one discourse upon the being of God, I published by way of specimen, in 1763. A second edition was printed the same year.

IN 1765, upon the death of my father, I succeeded to Sileby, another small vicarage in the county of Leicester; in 1766, was presented to the rectory of Sawtry All Saints in Huntingdonshire; and, in 1768, to a prebend in the collegiate church of Southwell. These, in so short a compass, may look pompous: but their clear annual income, when curates were paid, and all expences deducted, did not amount to more than £150. In 1771, I published the *Irenarch or Justice of the Peace's manual*; and qualified myself for acting in October that year. I qualified soon after for the liberty of Southwell and Scrooby in Nottinghamshire; yet, as strange as it may seem, nothing could be more aversive from my temper and way of life. But I was in both the commissions of the peace, and teased into it. The fates seem to have set themselves against my natural humour; for I had but just done with the education of my eldest son Ralph Heathcote, upon which I bestowed five or six years in a manner, interesting it is true, but certainly not agreeable, to myself.*

IN 1774, was published the second edition of the *Irenarch*, with a large dedication to Lord Mansfield. This dedication contains much miscellaneous matter, relating to laws, policy, and manners; and was at the same time written, with a view to oppose and check that outrageous, indiscriminate, and boundless invective, which had been repeatedly levelled at this illustrious person. But the public was disposed, perversely as I imagined, to misunderstand me: they conceived, that, instead of defending, I meant to insult and abuse Lord Mansfield; and this, as should seem, because, writing under a feigned character, I did, by way of enlivening my piece, treat the noble Lord with a certain familiarity and gaiety of spirit. Upon this, in 1781, I published a third edition of the *Irenarch*; setting my name at full length and frankly avowing my real purpose. The *Irenarch*, the dedication, and the notes, are now scattered up and down, but without alteration, in *Sylva*; and are indeed much properer for such a miscellaneous collection, as being no ways connected with one another. The first volume of *Sylva* was published in 1786, and a second edition in 1788.

IN the summer of 1785, we left London altogether; and divided our rural abode, between Southwell and Sileby, though Southwell of late has had the greatest share of us. I became vicar general of this church from November 1788. The authority of vicar general extends to twenty eight towns, the peculiar of Southwell; over which he exercises episcopal authority except ordination and confirmation. But the great object of my employment is the administration of justice; and object enough at my time of life. I have nearly reached the age of man, yet (I thank God) am tolerably free from infirmities; bating that general invalid habit, which has attended me from my birth, and which

* He went to Christ church, Oxford, and is now the King's Minister at Cologne and Hesse Cassel. I trained also my younger son Godfrey Heathcote, who likewise went to Christ church. These were all the children I have had.

N. B. THE elder of these lately died abroad in the discharge of his diplomatic function; the younger lives at Southwell, the father of a numerous progeny.

ELEVENTH, W. Beecher, elected 1795, now living*.

THE residentiary is the Præses Domesticus of the church. He is the director in all matters of internal government, and, in most respects, answers to the dean in other ecclesiastical bodies of this sort. As head of the church for the time being, he presides over the delibera-

certainly has not been mended by a studious and sedentary life. Far from presuming however, I do not reckon upon any long continuance: contented and resigned, I enjoy myself reasonably well; cultivating in the mean time and careful to preserve, what I call the true tone of spirit and temper, "neither to wish, nor fear to die"—*summum nec metuas diem, nec optes*. Martial, x, 47.

To this account of himself nothing remains to be added, 'but that he died in 1795, at an advanced period of life, exhausted by a lingering illness; in the progress of which he exhibited the strongest marks of philosophical firmness. He was buried by his own desire in the church yard of Southwell, where a tombstone, with the following inscription, marks the place of his interment.

DESIERUNT esse Mortales Radulphus Heathcote, S. T. P.
Hujus Ecclesiæ Prebendarius,
Et Uxor ejus Margaretta.
HÆC 12 April: 1790 Ætat. 67—Ille 28 May, 1795 Ætat. 74.

Ἀλλήλους ἐφίλησαν ἰσω ζυχω

THEOCRITUS.

* IF it were allowable to alter maxims and adages sanctified by time, it would be no difficult task to suggest many amendments in that way. The trite rule of "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*", would suffer no deterioration by being changed into "*nil nisi verum*;" while the alteration would be fairly productive of an *additional* maxim, which would at least receive the sanction of politeness. "*De viventibus nil nisi bonum*." The reasonable wish of an author, only obliquely dealing in biography, as a collateral and indirect appendage to his principal object of enquiry, should be neither to offend the ear of living modesty by exaggerated commendation, nor to rake up censure from amidst the rubbish of cotemporary jealousy. An affectionate family bear ample testimony to this gentleman's claims as an indulgent husband and a kind parent: To say thus much can neither be the subject of controversy, nor excite a suspicion of adulation. To his public merits, to his attainments in science, and his social virtues whatever they may be, future Biographers will, no doubt, do justice, when he shall be gathered to his fathers; who, it is sufficient here to observe, have, for some generations past, lived and died at Southwell; of whom a more particular account will be found in a subsequent page.

tions of the chapter, and executes the decrees of that body in all matters relating to discipline; he manages the revenues of the college, and sees provision made for the duties of the church. All the members of the body are required by the statutes to yield him every possible assistance in the execution of his office, and the most implicit obedience to his orders, so far as they are compatible with the laws of this society, and with those of the kingdom.

THE manner, and time, of each prebendary keeping residence hath frequently been varied, either by injunctions of archbishops or decrees of chapter, since Queen Elizabeth's statutes were granted to the church. Sometimes a certain number have been chosen by the chapter, out of the prebendaries of the church, to perform the duties of residentiary; at other times they have all taken the office in rotation; but that for a longer, or a shorter, period, as they could agree the matter among themselves. For several years, the ancient mode has been readopted, without variation, of each prebendary keeping, by himself or deputy, three months residence. The late Archbishop, Drummond, made several attempts towards obtaining the chapter's consent to an alteration of this system. That which he wished to have substituted was the appointment of four, out of the sixteen prebendaries, who were to have kept each a year's residence. This was an alteration not to be made, without the unanimous consent of the body; and that could never be procured.

NOTHING now remains to be treated of, under this division of our subject, but the statutes of the college themselves. Some difficulty occurred in determining what were proper to be inserted, and what to be rejected. The line of discrimination, which has been adopted, is this.—The old statutes, (by which are meant such as were enacted

before the reformation) are *mostly* inserted as matters of curiosity; principally for the purpose of shewing what was the constitution of the church previous to that period. Those of Queen Elizabeth *in toto*, because they compose the foundation and ground-work of that system of law, by which the body is now governed.—In the statutes made since that time, more discrimination became necessary. Those which are by injunction of the visitor, are inserted at length, and without selection; because they are comprehensive, permanent, and public; those that are only by decree of chapter, comprising many, which have been made but for a temporary purpose; many, which only relate to the circumstances of individuals; and some, which are not proper subjects for publication; have been separated; and all, but such as affect the general government of the church, are omitted. Thus arranged they will be found in the appendix*.

* VID. App. No. 16.

OF THE
FOUNDERS, BENEFACTORS, AND PATRONS,
OF THE
CHURCH OF SOUTHWELL.

CHAP. V.



BEFORE THE CONQUEST.

UPON the authority of venerable Bede, and other writers, both ancient and modern, before cited, there can be little doubt but Paulinus, who is generally considered as the first Archbishop of York, was the founder of the church of Southwell, as well as of those at York and Lincoln; but if the comparative size and consequence of these two last mentioned places be considered, and also the great devastations committed at Southwell by the party zealots of the last century, it will be no matter of surprise that so few sources of authentic information, respecting this foundation, yet remain, to reward the investigation of the most diligent enquirer; while whole volumes, relating to the other magnificent monuments of the same prelate's

zeal in the cause of christianity, still lie nearly unexplored in almost every public repository of records throughout the kingdom*.

THE first instance of liberality to our infant foundation, of which I meet with any authentic record, is in an instrument of Eadwy, king of England, whereby that monarch bestowed on the Archbishop of York, patron of this church, all the royal demesne in Southwell. The Archbishop was Oscitel†, the favorite of Eadwy, and seventeenth from Paulinus, who became himself a considerable benefactor, by giving to his successors, and to the church, what he had obtained from the liberality of his monarch.

IN the reign of this Eadwy it was, that the monks began to rise in esteem and influence. The crown, at this time, appears to have been elective, and the clergy to have entirely influenced the elections. The diadem had been placed on the head of Eadwy by the secular clergy, in opposition to the monks; therefore he, in return, amply endowed *their* societies‡.

THE next patron and benefactor to this foundation, of whom history makes any mention, is Eadgar, the brother and successor of

* PAULINUS, we are informed by venerable Bede, was consecrated Archbishop in the year of our Lord 625; that he baptized Edwin, king of Northumberland in 627; before 633 had founded the churches of Lincoln and Southwell; in 644 died Bishop of Rochester and was buried in the church of that place. He was canonized soon after his decease, and the tenth day of October was appointed for his festival in the English calendar. After the decease of Paulinus, the see of York was without an archbishop for twenty years, owing to the persecutions of Penda, the pagan king of Mercia, till in 664 Cedda was appointed to that dignity by Egfrid the king of Northumberland.

† VID. App. No. 17,

‡ IT appears to be placed beyond a doubt by Ingulphus, that Oscitel was of the secular priesthood, for he speaks of St. Dunstan and two other prelates in the next reign, while Oscitel was still living, as the only three who were addicted to celibacy, and other monkish tenets. Hoveden informs us that this Archbishop died in 879, and was buried at Redford. See also Preface to Tanner's Not.

Eadwy; as Ingulphus calls him, "Rosa Regum". Though all the riches of the ecclesiastical body were in the hands of the secular clergy, the monks had the power of working miracles, by the help of which, and the credulity of the people, they at length prevailed. They deposed Eadwy, and placed his brother Eadgar on the throne. The monks, who have written the history of this monarch, make him appear to be the wisest and best of kings; but facts, which speak impartially, manifest him to have been one of the most abandoned and profligate of men. Even Eadgar, however, was a benefactor to Southwell church; to what extent, history is silent; but it is reasonable to suppose not inconsiderably, as he is called, in the certificate into the court of augmentation, its "founder".

SOUTHWELL seems to have been in favor with most of the early Archbishops of York, who are to be found among the benefactors to its establishment.

ALFRIC PUTTOC, the twenty second from Paulinus, who was consecrated to that see in 1022, lived and died at Southwell, and was a great benefactor to its church, as we are informed by all his biographers, though they differ much among themselves respecting the extent, and instances, of his liberality*.

* WE of our time are, undoubtedly, much indebted to the Monks for all the early part of our history; but, whenever they venture on biography, they are to be consulted with caution. The friends of their establishments, if we credit their authority, had no faults; the enemies of them no virtues. William of Malmsbury represents our prelate as turbulent, avaricious, and cruel. He attributes to the refusal of Edgar, to suffer him to hold the see of Worcester in commendam with that of York, the burning of the former of these cities, and the decapitation of the dead body of the King's brother, who had fallen in an affray with Danish invaders. Godwin observes how improbable it is that Alfric should have been the promoter of measures at once so impolitic, impious, and inhuman; and accounts for the prejudices of the historian by observing, that the Archbishop gave nothing to the Monks, whom he did not approve; but that his hand was always open to the secular clergy and their establishments. He has been considered as a second founder of the college at Beverley in

KINSIUS, the immediate successor of Alfric, is the next in order, of whose bounty we are to take notice. He is said to have given two large bells to the church of Southwell*.

ALDRED†, the next Archbishop of York, the favorite of King Edward the confessor, and, afterwards, the strenuous supporter of Harold, was a great benefactor to the church of Southwell. In each of his colleges, viz. of Southwell and Beverley, he built a spacious and handsome common dining hall, for the canons of those places.

Yorkshire, from the number of estates he bestowed upon it, the many new offices he appointed and endowed, and the sumptuous buildings he erected. Alfric resided much at Southwell, and died there A. D. 1050. He had been a great benefactor to the Cathedral of Peterbro', in which he was buried behind the altar, where his tomb is still to be seen. Vid. Ingh. Hist.

* KINSIUS was a zealous Monk, and chaplain to Edward the confessor. He appears however to have been a great benefactor to all the churches with which he had any connection. Beside the two bells he bestowed on Southwell church, he erected a large tower on that of Beverley, and gave to the cathedral of Peterbro'—"ornamenta ad pretium 300 librarum". Vid. Lel. collect. 111, 102. This prelate's remains lie near those of his predecessor in the church of Peterbro'.

† ALDRED, as well from the singularity of his character, as from the peculiar circumstances of the times he lived in, and, above all, on account of his liberality to the college of Southwell, claims a more considerable share of attention, than it comes within the usual limits of this work to bestow. His principal biographer is William of Malmesbury, who relates his history as follows:

"ALDRED was appointed to the see of York, by holy Edward, in 1061, not without very strong suspicions of having made his way to such an elevated situation by mere dint of money. He was first a monk of Winchester, then abbot of Tavistock, bishop of Worcester, and lastly, Archbishop of York, with his former see in commendam. He set out for Rome, soon after his nomination, to procure his pall; and was attended thither by Giso, bishop of Wells; Walter, bishop of Hereford; and Tosti, the furious earl of Northumberland. His attendants were magnificently entertained by Pope Nicholas II; but Aldred was accused by the holy father of simony, his request of the pall rejected, and he was even deprived of his bishoprick of Worcester. Chagrined with this unlooked for reception, Aldred and his friend Tosti set out on their return to England, breathing nothing but vengeance against the holy see. In their way over the Alps, they were met by a band of robbers, who took from them every thing, except their clothes. This accident obliged the travellers to

GERARD, the twenty sixth Archbishop, chancellor of England in

return to Rome. Tosti, before resolved on vengeance in the cause of his friend, was now become outrageous by his own misfortune. All Rome resounded with the thunder of his threats. The timid old Pope began to be frightened; so he consented to give Aldred the pall for York, on condition of his quitting Worcester. Our prelate, surprised at this unexpected turn of fortune, accepted the conditions, and the travellers once more set out on their return home, thoroughly appeased by this condescension of Nicholas, or, as Malmsbury calls it, "this apostolical liberality".

In his political character, Aldred made a very conspicuous figure. Perhaps the greatest effort of human wisdom is to decide, in times of turbulence and public convulsion, how far it is prudent to stem the torrent, and how far honest to pursue the stream. Few public revolutions have happened, in which there has not been a point of time, beyond which it was madness to oppose the tide of popular inclination. Under such circumstances, all a wise man can do, is to submit with decency to events, which he cannot oppose with safety or success. Whether our reverend prelate was of this description of men, or an odious time-server and profligate apostate, let the reader's judgment decide. Aldred we have seen basking under the benignant sunshine of Edward's royal smiles; raised by him to wealth and dignity; and left by him, from the possession of that very wealth and dignity, the arbiter of empire, and of the fate of England. There arose two competitors for the crown; William, duke of Normandy, to whom (according to the custom of those times, when hereditary succession was not settled on any better foundation than the advantage, which the influence and authority of the possessor generally gave the heir apparent of his family) the patron of our Archbishop destined, by will, the realm of England. The other candidate was Harold; as Thomas Wikes, in his Chronicon, calls him. "filius scelestissimi proditoris Godwin comitis Cantix", who Matt. Par. says, "had renounced, by an oath, to William of Normandy, all pretensions to the crown of England". Aldred did not hesitate to throw his weight into the scale of Harold; and not only procured his election by the nobles of the kingdom, but himself performed the coronation ceremony, and swore allegiance to him. William soon prosecuted his claim in repeated remonstrances, addressed to Harold and his nobles; but to no purpose, till he supported those remonstrances with a numerous and gallant army. Every one knows the sequel. Aldred, no doubt, now, when the publication of his sentiments was not inconsistent with his personal-safety, in all the ardor of alacrity, which inclination, sanctified by gratitude, inspires, joined the conqueror, and professed some esteem for the man, whom he knew to be the object of his patron Edward's bounty. So indeed he did in the end, but not till he had supported, and betrayed, another competitor for the crown. Edgar Atheling, after the death of Edward, was undoubted heir to the English throne. Aldred bound himself, with many others, on the event of Harold's defeat, to support this young Prince's claim. Immediately afterwards, *mirandum dictu!* we find our versatile prelate standing forward the avowed advocate of William, and performing the ceremony of his coronation. "Quia Stigandus tunc Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, viro tam cruento (William) & alieni juris invasori, manus imponere recusavit, ab Aldredo Eboracensi

the reign of William I, was also a benefactor to the church of Southwell,

“Archiepiscopo magnificè coronatus, regni diadema suscepit”, says Wikes. Walter Hemingford, recording the same event in nearly the same words, says the Archbishop was “vir bonus et prudens”, and in his opinion, “intelligens cedendum esse tempori”. That pride and servility are frequently united, is an observation which every day’s experience justifies. Our accommodating prelate, so useful to every man who had the power to command his services, we are informed by the same author, could be as insolent where the terror of ecclesiastical censures gave him authority, as Harold found him servile, or William compliant.

OFFENDED with the sheriff of Yorkshire, and unable to get redress, without a personal application to the throne, Aldred hastened up to London. Habited *in pontificalibus*, and attended by a numerous train, he went to the King, whom he found in council at Westminster. Bursting through the crowd, he saluted the Monarch with a heavy curse, if he did not grant his suit. William, perhaps as much alarmed by the novelty, as by the violence of this address, fell at the Archbishop’s feet. The Lords of the council beheld, with indignation, the imperious prelate thus insulting his sovereign, and, remonstrating on the impropriety of suffering the King to kneel, would have assisted in raising him from the ground. The Archbishop arrogantly replied; “stand off, let him lie there; it is not at *my* feet, but at those of St. Peter he is prostrate”.

OUR Archbishop, who had been a principal actor in two revolutions, and had attempted a third, was once more furnished with an opportunity of manifesting his versatility. In the year 1069, the Danes threatened an invasion every hour, with a fleet of 240 ships. Word being brought that they had actually arrived at the mouth of the Humber, (as we are told by Roger Hoveden, and Florentius Wigornensis) as also that the citizens of York, and the Northumbrians, were in arms, and had proclaimed Prince Edgar; the Archbishop’s infirmities sunk under the agitation occasioned by such an unexpected revolution. To see a fair prospect of war and desolation, and a new conqueror begging from his hands a new inauguration; and that, at a time of life when he could only expect to pass a few insipid years in uniform loyalty and dull obedience, was indeed an event sufficient to agitate extremely the few remaining dregs of ambition in our prelate’s breast. But alas! it could only agitate, not invigorate. He died under the conflict of passions, occasioned by this approaching scene, on the tenth of September 1069, just before the Danes landed. According to Hoveden and others, he was buried in the cathedral at York: Willis says, at Gloucester: which opinion he seems to hold on account of his having a monument erected to his memory there; which might well be, whether he was buried there or not, when it is recollected that he built the sumptuous cathedral of that place. Amidst this variety of opinions, respecting the place of his interment, some have thought that Southwell had a claim to this honor; of this more in the chapter of Antiquities. Some of Aldred’s liberalities are thus recorded in *Lel. collect.*

ALDREDUS arch. Ebor. refector. & dormitorium in Bederna Ebor. perfecit— Edwardus Rex

but in what particular does not appear, unless indeed it was in improving the archiepiscopal palace there, in which he lived and died*, May 21, 1103. He was carried to York “raro agmine”, and buried in the church yard “sine honore”†.

THE immediate successor of Gerard, in the see of York, was Thomas II. He was a great benefactor to the church of Southwell, in various ways. He gave several parcels of lands to its canons, and obtained for them many advantages from Henry I, as appears by the instruments of that King, granting certain privileges and immunities to this church, in common with those of Ripon, Beverley, and York‡. He died in 1114§.

THURSTAN, archbishop of York, in this reign founded two new prebends in the church of Southwell, and endowed them

instantiâ Aldredi dedit Ecclesie Beverlac; dominium in Leven— Hic primus septem canonicos fecit prebendarios— Hic etiam prebendariis certa loca assign. & vicarios eis designavit— Hic veterem Eccl. novo Presbyterio decoravit— Hic etiam addidit octavum prebendarium— Hic a presbyterio ad turrim totam Eccl. pictorio opere, quod cælum appellabat, exornavit— Hic supra ostium chori pulpitum ære, auro, & argento, mirabili opere Theutonico exornavit.

* GERARD, was chancellor to Kings William I, and II. He was the twenty-sixth Archbishop of York. Among Archbishop Parker's MSS. in the library of Bennet' college, Cambridge, is a correspondence between Gerard and Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, in which the former complains of the irregularity of the ecclesiastics; that those *Qui canonicorum nomine gaudent canones aspernentur*; and though the canon forbids them to have women in their *own houses*, they sophistically evade it by saying, there is no prohibition, *quin in domibus vicinorum cum feminis soli & sine testibus conversentur*.

† LEL. Collect. 226.

‡ VID. Regist. Alb.

§ THOMAS was taken sick. Excessive plethora being his chief malady, his phisicians, says Hoveden, told him, “quod non convalesceret, nisi per coitum; quibus ille respondit, væ ægritudini, cui competit medicina luxuriæ; & sic Virgo electus a Domino, vitam finivit temporalem”.

liberally, as hath been before observed in the fourth chapter of this work*.

KING STEPHEN, by his precept dated at York, directed to William Peverell†, of Nottingham, with the sheriff and his ministers, still

* AT his four churches of York, Southwell, Beverley, and Ripon, Thurstan decreed the following privilege to his canons, in hopes that, by the temptation which it held out to their families, these fabricks also might be benefited. "That it should be lawfull for any canon of any of these places to bequeath two-thirds of the profits of his prebend, in the year next ensuing his death, to his heirs, on condition that he should allot the remaining third to the use of the fabrick of the church in which he held his canonry. The character of this prelate appears to have been truly good and great. All his biographers allow him to have been learned and religious; the transactions of his pontificate bespeak him liberal and intrepid. A succession of disputes with the King, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in all of which the Pope took a part with Thurstan, though they occupied much of his time, did not prevent his attending to the affairs of his province, where all the clergy, as well regulars, as seculars, tasted of his bounty. "Monasteria," says Godwin, "vel fundavit de novo, vel collapsa restauravit, octo". Canonici suis admodum benignum se exhibuit. It is somewhat extraordinary that the precise period of his death should never have been precisely ascertained. William of Malmsbury says he died in 1135. Matthew Paris places his decease in 1139; Walter Hemingford in 1140; and Tanner, Drake, and some other modern writers assert that he did not resign his bishoprick till 1143. On a future occasion it will be necessary to ascertain the time of this prelate's death with more precision; at present suffice it to observe that it really happened in 1140.

† WILLIAM PEVERELL was a bastard son of William the conqueror, to whom that monarch gave ten forest acres of land (about fifty statute acres) adjoining to the town of Nottingham, in which he built a most magnificent and mighty castle, so strong, as William of Newburg, Camden, and other historians tell us, that it could never be taken. The present castle at Nottingham stands on the scite of that built by Peverell, and the park belonging to it is the ground which William gave to his son. This fortress, for such it was till the present house was built in 1674, is very famous in story. It was long renowned for furnishing a retirement of dalliance to the lustful Queen of Edward II and her favorite Mortimer. It afterwards became an object of attention to Edward IV (as we are informed by Leland) who much augmented its magnificence. What he left undone was completed by Richard III. In Charles I's unhappy reign it was a post of importance to both the contending parties; but rendered remarkable by nothing more than its having been the first place, in which the deluded monarch appeared in arms, after he had retreated from his capital, and determined on the critical expedient of erecting his standard, and waging war against the laws of his kingdom, and the

preserved in the White book*, commanded that the canons of St. Mary of Suwell should have the woods of their prebends in their own hands and custody, and thence take what they should need, as in King Henry's time; and that his foresters be forbidden to take or sell any thing there

ROGER DE BISHOP-BRIDGE, thirty-first archbishop of York, is the next benefactor to this church, whose name occurs in any of the authorities I have had occasion to consult. He was chaplain to King Henry II, and an ambitious, avaricious man. Out of his great riches, however, he founded the prebend of Halton, in the church of Southwell, and endowed it, as has been before related. King Henry, and likewise the pope, Urban III, severally confirmed his gift, by their respective charters; as also did the dean and chapter of York. Soon after the foundation of this prebend of Halton, William, steward of Halton, gave to the church of Southwell "forty acres of land and a "messuage—viz. sixteen acres at Wivleswell, eleven at Oldcroft, and "sixteen at Halton; together with the tithe of orchards and gardens, "and of birds; as also common of pasture, pannage of hogs in acorn "time, and the liberty of taking wood upon the forest, provided no "waste be committed.†

POPE Alexander III was one of the greatest benefactors, this period produced, to the church of Southwell; as appears by a very comprehensive and extraordinary bull‡.

liberties of his people. To this grant of land, William also added considerable privileges, and among the rest a peculiar jurisdiction over a very considerable extent of country, called the honor of Beverell. It remains to this day. Vid. account of its institution and authority App. No. 18.

* VID. App. No. 19.

† VID. Regist. Alb.

‡ VID. App. No 20.

RICHARD I.

GEOFFREY PLANTAGENET, thirty-second archbishop of York*, gave to the chapter the church of St. Elen of Wheatley, in the county of Nottingham, to find lights for that of Southwell. This benefaction received the confirmation of Walter Thaney, archdeacon of Nottingham; and, soon after, of Pope Innocent III†.

KING Richard himself was the next, of whose favor there is any mention; and he gave charters, as well to the Archbishop, as to the chapter, securing them in all their rights respecting his lands and forests in the county of Nottingham.

JOHN.

KING John followed the example of his predecessor, by giving to this church like charters of confirmation of privileges.

WALTER GREY succeeded Geoffrey in the see of York, and presided in it near forty years, dying in 1255. He left behind him the character of an avaricious priest; but he did more for the churches he governed, than almost any Archbishop either before, or since, his time. To this prelate's magnificence his successors, in the see of York, are indebted for one of those four noble parks, which they enjoy in right of their church of Southwell. The land of Hexgrave park, or, as it was formerly called, Bokkesgrave, and afterwards Bekkesgrave, was

* GEOFFREY was elected Archbishop 1191 by the chapter of York, at the special instance of King Richard I, whose natural brother he was; being the son of King Henry II, by fair Rosamond. We are informed by Roger Hoveden and Matthew Paris, that Geoffrey was ordained at Southwell by John, suffragan bishop of Candida Casa.

† VID. Regist. Alb.

purchased and converted into a park by this Walter. The scoffments of the different persons, who had been the proprietors, are extant in the White Book. The family of Bella Aqua, or, as they are now called in some counties, Bowater, seem to have been the principal owners. Walter's liberality was not confined to the aggrandisement of the Archbishop only; he procured the church of Rolleston from the convent of Thurgarton, and gave it to the chapter of Southwell. It had been settled, but a short time before, on the convent, by Henry de Rolleston. This prelate was a benefactor also in another way: he gave to his church of Southwell a collection of very wise statutes for the government of the body*.

ABOUT this time Andrew, bailiff of Southwell, founded a chantry here, at the altar of St. Stephen, and endowed it with lands in Southwell†.

PAVIA, the daughter of Nigellus de Rampton, next claims our notice. She, with the consent of her son Robert Maluvel, founded the Prebend of Rampton in this church, and endowed it with lands and tithes there‡. This foundation was afterwards confirmed by Pope

* THE see of York owes its only remaining Palace, with the manor and lands belonging to it, to this Archbishop, viz. Bishopthorpe. The Palace also, now called Whitehall, in Westminster was purchased by him and settled on the see. It remained in the hands of his successors the Archbishops, till Wolsey vainly endeavoured to procure the royal pardon by sacrificing this house to the rapacity of Henry VIII. In the Cotton library, Brit. Museum, are preserved the following lines by way of epitaph on this prelate.

Ille suis sumptibus villam adoptavit
 Thorpe; et successoribus suis assignavit.
 Obiit catholicus, præsul et fidelis
 Ad altare ponitur Sancti Michaelis

† THOROT. Antiq. Notts.

‡ VID. App. No. 21

Innocent, and many augmentations conferred upon it by private persons.

POPE Urban III, though he sat in the chair of St. Peter but three years, viz. from the year 1184 to the year 1187, seems to have been a great benefactor to this church, and have taken great concern in its establishment and welfare. By a bull of his, bearing date 1185, he confirmed, in the fullest terms possible, all the privileges and immunities, which had ever been granted to the chapter. This instrument must have issued, indeed, in a former reign, but seems not to have been registered till the beginning of this. There are other bulls of the same pope, relative to the disputes which happened, from time to time, between the prebendaries and other persons; in all which he protects the church with the utmost zeal. The only one which seems, on any account, worth inserting, is that, by which the prebend of Halton was confirmed to the church, and which will be found in the appendix*.

POPE Innocent III also, in 1202, sent the chapter of Southwell a bull, confirming all their privileges. Soon after, he issued another, commanding the restoration of certain lands detained from the chapter. And, very soon after that, another requiring a like restoration of certain benefices, withheld from them by several persons†.

HENRY III.

THE long reign of Henry III was particularly auspicious to the fortunes of Southwell church. That Monarch himself was a great

* VID. App. No. 22.

† FOR the most considerable part of this chapter I am indebted to the White Book, and to Torre's collection in the custody of the church of York. To those sources of information, therefore, I must refer the more inquisitive reader, for those instruments of foundation, confirmation, or augmentation,

benefactor to it, and, probably, encouraged the liberality of others, as well by precept, as example. The principal act of the King himself, of which we are to take notice, is a charter of Inspeximus, by which, after reciting a former charter of Henry II, (which it confirms), he declares “that the canons of St. Mary of Southwell shall enjoy the “same privileges and immunities as those of St. Peter of York, particularly that they shall receive the amerciements of their tenants and “fines for all such offences as they have been guilty of”. Then it grants them “exemptions from tolls and duties, from suits of counties, “hundreds and wapentakes, and from all gelds, such as Danegeld, “Horngeld, &c. &c. and that they shall have their court of justice “with soc and sac, &c. and that no one shall distrain upon them “without acquainting them, or seize upon their cattle, but they shall “have return of writs &c”. This charter is subscribed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Cornwall, and other persons of rank.

Soon after this charter was granted to the churches of York and Southwell, we find the dean and chapter of the former writing a letter to the canons of the latter, in which they tell them, that the sheriffs of Yorkshire had several times attempted to take from them their privileges, but particularly in the year 1106, whereupon the King sent commissioners to enquire into them, who found them to be the same they had now procured to be confirmed by charter.

At this time, it seems, some part of the church was much out of repair; for the next instance of patronage with which it was presented

according to the subject matter, with which I have forborne to load the appendix to this work. Once for all, let me observe that, out of an immense mass, only such have been selected, as appeared necessary for illustration, convertible to some useful purpose, or objects of more than ordinary curiosity in themselves.

by the holy see, was an indulgence of thirty days granted, as it is there expressed, “for the consummation of the fabrick of St. Mary of Suwell long since begun to be restored”. This bears date 9 Kal. 1235*.

IN this reign were founded a great number of chauntries in the church of Southwell; too numerous to be here recited. Among the more splendid of these were the following: there were three founded by Robert de Lexington, canon of this church, the two first at the altar of St. Thomas the martyr, “for the health of his own soul and those of “his ancestors, for the souls of King John, of Brian de Insulâ, of his “father, mother, brothers, sisters, parents, friends, parishioners, all “his benefactors, and for all the faithful departed; and also for all “the living for whom he was in any way obliged to pray, or of “whom he had ever received any thing either willingly or against “their wills”, for the performance whereof he gave the church, and some lands in Barneburgh near Doncaster, to the chapter of Southwell, “for augmenting the divine worship in that church, and the “sustenance of two priests, two deacons, and two subdeacons, to “minister in their order and to follow the choir, as vicars, according “to the order of Archbishop Walter, dated at Oxton, in the twenty- “sixth year of his pontificate; and likewise to pay half a mark, yearly, “to find lights, ornaments, and other necessaries for the said altar; “and to find twenty seven pounds of wax to make one light for the “great altar, and thirteen pounds to make two for the altar of St. “Thomas the martyr, to burn on the day of his passion and translation, “and otherwise as occasion shall require”; which advowson and lands were likewise released to the chapter by Thomas de Bella Aquâ†. The rectors of Barneburgh did, accordingly, pay quarterly to the said priests forty shillings, to the deacons twenty, and to the subdeacons sixteen and eight-pence, beside the wax &c. before-mentioned.

* VID. Torre's Collect.

† VID. Regist. Alb.

The third chauntry was likewise at the altar of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the *new work*, “for the soul of the said Robert de Lexington the founder, and for the souls of his father, mother, brothers, sisters, parents, ancestors, successors, parishioners, benefactors, and all the faithful”, for which he gave to the chapter of Southwell, “sixty and four shillings of yearly rent, issuing out of eleven oxgangs of land holden by several persons in Newton, and one oxgang in Saxendale, together with homages, services, reliefs, wards, &c. and sixteen shillings rent in Laxton Morehouse”. The priest who did the service was directed, “sometimes to read, and sometimes sing, whichever excited most devotion, and to have all the said rents, and half the reliefs and other profits, happening out of the aforesaid tenements; the other half being for the commons of the canons resident”*.

Nor long after he had established these three, we find the same Robert de Lexington founding another chauntry at the altar of St. John the evangelist, for the soul of Sir Henry de Nottingham, just then dead (1245) and endowing it with “ten marks yearly, to be paid by the monastery of Sixill, out of lands he had settled on that society; twenty shillings out of a tenement holden of him, the said Robert, in Warsop, and half a mark out of one in Carlton, holden also of him by Ralph the chaplain, son of Jocelinus de Willoughby”†.

In the year 1260, Richard de Sutton, canon of Southwell, founded a chauntry at the altar of St. Peter. The vicars of this church granted him, by their instrument, sealed with their common seal, together with that of the chapter, for themselves and their successors, that, so oft as mass for the dead brethren and benefactors of that church should be celebrated, there should be a special prayer said for the said

* Vid. Regist. Alb.

† THOROT. Antiq. Notts.

Richard de Sutton, and another for the souls of Robert de Sutton his father, and Alicia his mother, and that they would find a wax light, to burn for his soul at the mass of our Lady, daily there celebrated, for ever. Oliver de Sutton, prebendary, and afterwards bishop, of Lincoln, and Ernald de Calneton, were his executors; they purchased, of Philip de Paunton, rents and lands in Holme, which they settled upon Henry de Newark, archdeacon of Richmond, canon of North Muskham, and upon his successors, canons of North Muskham, to pay six marks yearly, viz. twenty shillings every quarter to the priest performing the office. And lest the rent should be ill paid by his successors, the said Henry de Newark, by his writing, bearing date at Muskham, Nov. 1288, granted to the chapter of Southwell power to sequester the prebend, in case of failure*.

ABOUT the same time Henry de Sewel augmented the prebend of South Muskham, by a gift of lands to William de Markham, canon thereof, and his successors. To this deed Sir Henry de Moore, Sir Robert de Lexington, and Richard de Sutton are witnesses†.

THE next foundation in this church seems to have been of a chauntry at the altar of St. Nicholas, by Sir William de Wydington; to which he gave rents out of tenements in Southwell and thereabouts, to the amount of six pounds and eight shillings per annum, which were confirmed to the chapter by Simon de Gryngethorpe and Clementia his wife‡.

THE last grant of Henry's reign is one, whereby that King himself gives to the Archbishop free warren in all his demesne lands, in the counties of Nottingham, York, Lincoln, Northumberland, and Gloucester.

* THOROT. Antiq. Notts.

† VID. Regist. Alb.

‡ THOROT. Antiq. Notts.

EDWARD I.

THE reign of Edward I, was scarcely less prolific in benefactions to the church of Southwell, than that of his predecessor.

THE first instrument of foundation, in this reign, is a charter of the King himself, confirming the chauntry of Richard de Sutton, "endowed in the late King's time"; as also the grants of lands for its support, made by the executors, in North Muskham and Holme*.

IN 1274, Gilbert Eton released to the chapter six tofts, in the borough of Southwell, "collated to the fabrick there by John Angre†, which the said Gilbert held, but which he considered as the right of the chapter".

IN the year 1275, Henry le Vavasour founded a chauntry here at the altar of St. John the evangelist. This Henry was at this time prebendary of Norwell Palishall.

THE next instrument is the deed of Thomas de Bella Aqua, giving to the church of Southwell all his right in the advowson of the chapel of Kirklington. There are two similar deeds from Adam

* VID. Regist. Alb.

† THE name of this John Angre occurs very frequently in the White Book, as one of the contracting parties in several deeds there recorded, all through the reign of Edward II, and part of that of Edward III; and this book being merely a repository of instruments relating to the estates and interests of the chapter, it is to be inferred, that, in all these, he was mediately, or immediately, their benefactor, though no mention be made in many of them respecting the church. I think he is either the grantee of land rendering rent, or the grantor receiving it, in about thirty deeds there recorded; besides those, by which he settles lands or tenements on the chapter expressly, which are too many, and often respecting too trifling possessions, to be here enumerated.

and William de Bella Aqua, who, it should seem, were heirs in tail after Thomas, but to the latter the chapter agree to pay thirty shillings yearly.

THE prior of Thurgarton, Agatha, daughter of Geoffrey, sometime canon of Southwell, Robert Darille, and William de Rolleston, were also benefactors during this reign.

THE Archbishop of York also, John le Romaine, gave the church of Barneby near Newark to the chapter of Southwell, for the sustentation of choristers within the same

AT this period the church of Eton became the subject of two benefactions, which claim a place here; first, by Robert de Wolrington in the year 1286, as we have before seen, settling the same, by deed, upon the Archbishop of York; and again, three years after, by the same Archbishop, John le Romaine, giving it to the church of Southwell, for the purpose of founding a prebend in the same*.

IN 1291, the prebend of Beckingham was divided by the generosity of William Rotherfield, at that time prebendary thereof, into two; of which, one was to continue to be endowed by the church of Beckingham, the other by that of Leverton, which had till this time been appendant to Beckingham, as a part of the endowment of the prebend.

* AT York his bounty was more extensive, and flowed in a different channel. A very considerable part of the stately cathedral there was of this Archbishop's projecting, and not an inconsiderable part executed under his protection, and at his expence. "It had been burnt", writes Camden, in his Britannia, "in the reign of Stephen, from which time it lay neglected till that of Edward I, when it was begun by John Romaine, treasurer of the church, and brought to that beautiful fabrick we now see it, by his son John, archbishop of York, and his successors". He was making preparations to extend his bounty further, when he was snatched away in the year 1295. He was buried in the cathedral, on which he had bestowed such extraordinary attention.

For the purpose of effecting this partition, Rotherfield resigned his prebend into the hands of the Archbishop, who made his decree according to the petition of the generous canon, and ordained that the prebendary of Leverton should have his stall in the choir on the north side next that of the sacrist, and his place in the chapter-house, duly assigned by the chapter*.

ABOUT the same time, it was decreed by the Archbishop, that the tithes of sheaves and of hay in the parish of Upton, which did belong to three prebends in the church of Southwell, should, for the future, (the prebendaries consenting) be the property of the chapter. This decree was afterwards ratified by the King†.

IN the latter end of his reign, Edward I granted, to the Archbishop and his successors, free warren in all his demesne lands of Cawood, Beverley, and Southwell.

IN this reign another chauntry was founded, by one of the family of Le Vavasour, at the altar of St. John the baptist, and endowed by him with lands in Southwell and Northwell, to a very considerable amount.

EDWARD II.

THE first donation, which I find in the reign of Edward II, is, by a deed of Walter Mallet of Willuby, seven acres of land, on the east side of the wood of Thirnclive, given to the fabrick of the church of Southwell.

* VID. Regist. Alb.

† -IBID.

THE next is by Robert, the son of the last-mentioned Walter, bestowing on the same fabrick two acres and a half of arable land, lying in the fields of Halam.

THOMAS, son of Reginald, soon after granted to the fabrick of the church of Southwell, one acre of meadow in Seggisdale.

AGATHA, daughter of Hugh Lombard of Rolleston, granted, in frankelmoigne, to the said fabrick, eight selions of arable land in the fields of Rolleston. This grant was afterwards confirmed by Robert Lombard, and Agnes Lombard, of Rolleston.

AMONG the benefactions of Edward II, we must reckon the decree of William de Melton, archbishop of York, directed to the chapter of Southwell and the Dean of Retford, “that Robert de Wyllyngton pay to the fabrick of the church of Southwell, thirty-three shillings, which he has detained from the same for the space of twelve years, under pain of excommunication”. This debt appears, by another entry in the White Book, to have been part of a rent of forty shillings a year, left to the fabrick by Henry de Southwell, issuing out of land at Stretton in the Clay, in the occupation of the said Robert de Wyllyngton; which donation, Juliana, sister of the said Henry de Southwell, by another deed, confirmed to the chapter.

THE next donation, I find recorded, is of a third part of a toll in the borough of Southwell, given by Botilda de la Gatehende, to the fabrick of the church. A part of a toft for the same purpose, by Hubert de Barra. A toft, in frankelmoigne, for the same purpose, by Agnes Pierpont. Certain messuages in Southwell for the same purpose, by Matilda Mynott. A toft, by William, son of Albert, in

Easthorpe, for the same purpose. Three roods of meadow in Easthorpe, for the same purpose, by Alan de Westhorpe. Seven selions of land in Southwell, for the same purpose, by William Newton. Lands and tenements for the same purpose, by Alice de Wykes. A meadow in Halam, and an acre of land in Easthorpe, for the same purpose, by William de Edingley. Two bovates in Easthorpe, for the same purpose, by Hanwisia de Vullers. Half an acre of meadow in Dyrsing, for the same purpose, by William Friend.

EDWARD III.

DURING all the reign of Edward II, and the principal part of this, we may observe most of the donations to the church of Southwell are made to the fabrick, from which circumstance we might, if we had been without better evidence, have presumed that some considerable additions and improvements were at that time making to it. Indeed, one of the principal instances of protection, which the church received in this reign, in some measure ascertains the beginning, and progress, of those improvements. This is a letter of request, which was issued in the year 1352, from the chapter of York, for the purpose of collecting the alms and charitable contributions of the people within that city, diocese, and province, for the furtherance of this fabrick of St. Mary of Southwell*. This brief recites the indulgences formerly granted to those who should charitably relieve it, thus;

FROM Pope Boniface VIII, forty days pardon.

FROM Popes Urban, Celestine, Gregory, Honorius, Innocent, Clement, Alexander, one year and forty days pardon each.

* VID. Torre's Collect.

LIKEWISE all the indulgences and pardons granted and confirmed by Archbishops and Bishops, especially, Walter, Sewald, Godfrey, William, archbishops of York; and bishops of Durham, forty days each.

“ MOREOVER the benefit of thirteen masses celebrated in this church
 “ of Southwell, four for the living, eight for the dead, and one for
 “ St. Mary. Also three thousand masses, ten thousand psalters in
 “ the fifteen abbeys and priories of the Cluniac and Sempringham
 “ orders, within the see of York, and in three hundred and seventy
 “ abbeys of the Cistercian order. The advantage of all which masses,
 “ mattins, vigils, prayers, and other spiritual benefits, the benefactors
 “ to this fabrick shall for ever receive. And all the priests and other
 “ ecclesiastics, who shall promote this indulgence, shall participate
 “ of all those and other good things, which God Almighty only
 “ knows what”*.

NONE could refuse a small pittance to St. Mary, when the loan was to be repaid with such ample interest: who was the first to take advantage of this proffered influence of their holinesses, with the dispenser of future rewards and punishments, it is impossible to collect from those records, to which I have been generally indebted on this subject. Most of the deeds, which the White Book has perpetuated, begin, about this period, to be without dates, and the arrangement of them is so immethodical, that it is impracticable (in the case of private persons at least) to ascertain their proper order with any degree of precision.

It has been before noticed, that, in the cleventh year of this reign, a royal licence was given to the chapter to get stone in the quarries of the forest of Shirewood, for the purposes of the fabrick.

* VID. Torre's, Collect.

ABOUT the same time, Robert de Bella Aquâ settled three bovates of land upon the chapter of Southwell, for the support of the fabrick of their church, rendering to him, as an acknowledgment, yearly, one pound of cummin.

AGNES DE BURBECK, William Friend, Geoffrey Andegaimer, Richard de Normanton, Richard de Upton, Hugh de Upton, Ralph de Eton, were also contributors for like purposes.

IN the forty-sixth year of this reign is a mandate, from the King, to Adam de Everingham and the other justices, for the preservation of the assize of bread and beer, and for surveying the weights and measures in the county of Nottingham; ordering that the chapter of Southwell be allowed that privilege in the towns of Southwell, Northwell, South Muskham, North Muskham, Calneton, Oxtun, Calverton, Woodborough, Crophill, Blitheworth, Halloughton, Beckingham, Dunham, Halam, Edingley, and Normanton, which had been before allowed them by Edward II*.

IN this reign Robert Woodhouse founded a chantry in the church of Southwell, and endowed it with about one hundred acres of land in Norwell and Willoughby.

ABOUT the same time the chantry at the altar of St. Nicholas, founded by Sir William de Wydington was considerably augmented. There appear a great number of benefactors, but scarce any one of more than one acre of land.

* VID. Regist. Alb.

RICHARD II.

THE most memorable instance of liberality, in this reign, is that, which hath been before-mentioned, of Richard de Chesterfield; who, having obtained permission to make use of a small portion of the church yard for the purpose, built, at his own expence, a college for the habitation of the vicars. The particular occasion of this well-timed bounty, with all the concomitant circumstances, being enumerated in those instruments, under the authority of which it was erected, it is unnecessary to add any thing to what they convey on the subject*.

THE name of Archbishop Neville, as the supposed projector of the chapter-house, must not be omitted here among the benefactors of this time; but what has been said of him before, precludes the necessity of further mention in this place.

IN this reign was founded one of the richest chauntries in the church of Southwell, at the altar of St. Mary, the tutelar saint of the church. William de Gunthorpe was the principal contributor; but there were many others of inferior note; among these, the first place is to be given to the chapter, who settled, on the priest of the chauntry, land in Carlton, and rents issuing out of other estates belonging to the church; for which they had a licence from Richard II†.

THE last record of this reign is the King's writ, directed to the sheriff of Nottinghamshire, to deliver seisin to the chapter, of the

* VID. App. No. 23.

† VID. Regist. Alb.

messuages and lands in Warsop, which they had of the gift of Robert de Lexington, and had lately recovered, by course of law, from Alan Sefoul and his wife.

HENRY IV.

WE now come to a part of the White Book again, where the total omission of dates, or the obvious mistakes in them, make it a very difficult task to arrange the different donations to the church with any degree of accuracy. About this period, however, the sums given are, in general, so small, as to be scarcely worthy of being recorded.

THE names of Robert de Fiskarton, Simon de Suwell, and William de Wydyngton, occur very frequently, as donors of small parcels of lands, and of trifling rents, to the chapter of Southwell; the application of which they have, in general, pointed out to be for the purpose of finding lights at the time of mass.

HENRY V.

THE only instance of liberality to the church of Southwell, which I can attribute to this reign, gave occasion to an instrument of some singularity in the next, which will be the subject of discussion in its proper place. That of the immediate successor of Henry IV, was the reign of rapine, war, and blood. The fountain of superstition was not exhausted, but it found a new channel for its stream. Even the clergy of the time caught the fiery disposition of the monarch, and every act, as well of the people, as of the priesthood, partook of his impetuosity and violence. In that barbarous age, it is not a matter of wonder, that courage, and superstition, should compose the whole system of human duty; and that the character of

heroism was only to be acquired by a proficiency in the art of murder, and a blind submission to ambitious ecclesiastics. In both these arts Henry V excelled: the former made his career splendid; the latter has occasioned his memory to be emblazoned through the page of history. He began his reign with burning heretics alive; he concluded it with cutting the throats of unoffending Frenchmen. The clergy, the historians of the time, have dignified one with the appellation of holy zeal, the other with that of heroism. Few religious foundations, however, were endowed in that period; but one benefaction do I find recorded in the register of Southwell; viz. a chauntry at the altar of St. Mary Magdalene, founded by one Thomas Haxey, prebendary of this church; on which he settled very considerable estates in Beekingham, Bole, Bathely, Normanton, and the burridge of Southwell, for the support of a priest, and other charitable purposes.

HENRY VI.

THE instrument, to which I alluded, in treating of the benefactors in the reign of Henry V, is entitled to this effect; "A pardon of Henry VI, made to the chapter of Southwell, principally on account of lands acquired by the chapter, without the royal licence being first obtained". There is nothing very curious in, nor any great information to be collected from, the form or language of this grant itself; therefore, a very succinct epitome of its contents may suffice. It states, that the chapter of Southwell had come into possession of one messuage, one hundred and fifty acres of land, and seven acres of meadow, with appurtenances, in Bathely, North Muskham, and Holme, in the county of Nottingham, of the gift of Thomas Haxey; as also of a messuage, and sixty acres of land, in North Carlton, of the gift of William Gunthorpe, James Staunton, and Walter Ulsby, with divers other lands, tenements, &c. without any licence from the

crowns, and against the laws of the kingdom; all which, the said chapter had quietly and peaceably enjoyed, till it was found by inquisition, that one William de Northwell, clerk, was seised of these premises, and others in Northwell, for which he had fined to the King, and afterwards assigned them to certain persons, upon the failure of whose issue male, they were to go to the crown; which happening accordingly, they had been granted by the crown to one John Tysing. That, hereupon, the chapter having, by their petition, set forth the great diminution of their revenues, and requested the King to revoke this grant to Tysing, he, out of his especial grace and favor, grants them his free pardon for having become so unlawfully possessed of the same; revokes his grant to Tysing, and restores them to the chapter*.

IN the 17th year of his reign, Henry VI granted to the chapter of Southwell the priory of Ravendale in Lincolnshire. In this grant it is stated to be given "at the request of John, archbishop of York, on "his representation of the great decay of revenues in this church, "and his paying to the King 300 marks†". This grant further gives licence to the chapter to purchase lands to the value of twenty pounds per annum, notwithstanding the statute of mortmain. The priory of Ravendale, with the appurtenances, was rated at fourteen pounds per annum, and appropriated, by the special appointment of the Archbishop, for the support of the vicars choral.

WHEN Henry VI lost his crown, many of the grants, which he had made to religious foundations, were annulled; not a few of them, however, were regranted by his successor, from an obvious principle of policy. This priory of Ravendale affords one proof of this position; as will be observed more at large, when we come to the transactions of Edward IV.

* VID. Regist. Alb.

† IBID.

IN the 22d of this reign, William Duffeld and William Graves granted to the chapter two tenements and three roods of land in Easthorpe, for the sustentation of the fabrick of the church.

IN 1446 appears the following grant of Cardinal John Kempe, archbishop of York, to the chapter of Southwell*. “One place upon
“the waste between the gates of the church-yard of Southwell on one
“part, and Robert Sampson’s place on the other, at the rent of sixpence
“yearly. One place taken out of the waste in the street called West-
“gate, at the rent of ninepence per annum. One parcel of waste
“ground, with a garden, lying in Westgate, at tenpence per annum.
“One cottage in Westgate aforesaid, at threepence per annum. One
“waste toft in Easthorpe, at seventeenpence halfpenny per annum.
“One cottage in Westgate aforesaid, built on the waste in the north
“part of the manor of Southwell, with one little garden at the rent
“of fourteenpence sterling per annum. One toft in the street there
“at the yearly rent of eighteenpence, and also two cottages built
“upon the waste in Ferthingate, with ground adjoining, and three
“acres of land in the fields of Westgate, rendering yearly two shillings
“rent, to have and to hold the same to the chapter for a hundred
“years”.

It appears, by what has been before extracted from Sir William Dugdale’s visitation of Nottinghamshire, that this prelate was a great benefactor, at least, to the archiepiscopal palace here, if he did not entirely build it†.

* VID. Regist. Alb.

† BESIDE these instances of bounty, I find Oxford was indebted to him for her public schools. Among Archbishop Parker’s MSS. Bennet’ college, Cambridge, is the following article: “Epistola
“ad Johannem Kempe, Episc. Lond., gratias academix, &c. pro præclaris in Academiam meritis,
“præsertim in edificatione scholarum.” At Wye in Sussex, of which place he was a native, he
erected a college, and endowed it with a revenue to support a certain number of priests. He was
much employed in affairs of state, and there remain among the Fædera many documents, respecting
the negotiations, in which he was concerned.

By a deed, bearing date 24th of Henry VI, John Gunthorpe and William Speton, grant to the church, a messuage in Prestgate, in the Town of Southwell, late the property of Agnes Clouhull and Simon Spun, for the use and benefit of the vicars choral of the same.

EARLY in the reign of Henry VI, was founded, a chauntry at the altar of St. Stephen, by Thomas Averham, and Robert Barber; and endowed with lands in Ferthingate, in the parish of Southwell. Considerable augmentations were made to this foundation in the 23d of Henry VI, by William Duffeld, consisting of lands in Southwell, Easthorpe, Normanton, and Upton. The sum total of these are stated to be; in the fields of Easthorpe, five acres, one rood, and twenty perches; in Normanton, six acres and one rood; and in Upton, four acres and one rood.

THERE was another chauntry, we have seen, at the altar of St. Stephen, in the reign of King John, founded by Andrew, bailiff of Southwell, which was at this time augmented, by different persons, with several small parcels of land in the parishes round about Southwell.

IN the 26th of Henry VI, is a note of mortization of the chauntry of Norwell, and its union with the chauntry of St. John the baptist.

IN the same year, is a grant of nine shillings and tenpence rent out of land in Normanton, by John Byrkin, to the chapter of Southwell.

EDWARD IV.

THE reign of Edward IV, though neither a very brilliant, nor a very pious one, yet bringing with it external peace, and internal

tranquillity, like the sunshine of the spring after a long and stormy winter, with the plenty it produced, disseminated a degree of cheerfulness and liberality; which, as soon as it began to overflow those channels, that every man's private necessities had prepared for it, most bounteously fertilized the garden of the clergy.

WITHOUT any sense of religion, indeed with scarce the smallest regard to decency or decorum, Edward himself was no inconsiderable benefactor to the church. Whether prompted by vanity, or urged by superstition, it is unnecessary to enquire; true devotion had certainly no share in the motive: but, among many large donations, which he made to the church in general, Southwell received a portion. After the revolution, which placed Edward on the throne, the grants of the preceding monarch were, many of them at least, resumed by the crown. Ravendale Priory, in Lincolnshire, as we have already seen, afforded one of those many instances of respect to religious foundations, which was manifested by Henry VI. This, with other estates given to the chapter of Southwell, during the disputable government of the Lancastrian line, received the confirmation of Edward, at a very early period of his reign.

THE two brothers, William and Lawrence Booth, archbishops of York in this reign, though one of them presided in the see less than four years, were great benefactors to the church, and the archiepiscopal palace. To the former they added a chapel*, and founded a chauntry with a plentiful endowment; in the latter they constantly resided, and are, with good reason, supposed to have much improved it, at a considerable expence.

AT this time also, many private persons were great benefactors to the church of Southwell. Some of these are concisely expressed, in

* VID. Torre's, Collect.

an instrument of confirmation by the King; to be found in the White Book of Southwell, and inserted in its proper place in this work*.

THE next articles, that occur in the White Book, are several augmentations to the altars of St. Nicholas, and St. Stephen, by William de Tolney, Agnes de Carlton, John de Burstal, Hugh de Osmunthorpe, Robert de Screwin, and Sibilla de Angenon, of several small parcels of land in the parishes of Carlton, Muskham, Halam, and Edingley; but they are all without dates.

RICHARD III.

THE only instance of liberality, which this reign furnishes, is that of Thomas de Rotheram, archbishop of York, who rebuilt the south side of the palace at Southwell†.

HENRY VII.

THE reign of Henry VII, though of above twenty years continuance, produced not a single donation to the church of Southwell, nor any improvement of its property or appendages; unless, indeed, the restoration of the palace at Scrooby, by Archbishop Savage, comes under this description.

HENRY VIII.

It has been noticed, in a former part of this volume, that the church of Southwell suffered, in the common wreck of religious foundations, which the virtue, or the resentment, or the avarice

* VID. App. No. 24.

† VID. Godwin de Præsul: and Baker's MSS. in the university library at Cambridge.

(call it what we will) of Henry VIII effected through the kingdom. The re-endowment of it, by the same monarch, has also been noticed; and that so fully, as to leave nothing to be added here respecting this reign, except recording the liberality of Cardinal Wolsey*.

* It has been one of the common observations of mankind, and it has formed the principal solace of many an unfortunate, or unpopular minister, that, when the prejudices of disappointed dependants, the jealousy of rival cotemporaries, or the spleen of a capricious monarch, have ceased to influence the opinions of the public, posterity have done justice to the characters of those who have deserved well of their country. The fate of Wolsey forms, indeed, a singular, and an awful exception; because he was not *good*, the world has reluctantly allowed him to be *great*; because he had not the virtues of a bishop, mankind have usually denied him the qualities of a minister. A mere outline of this extraordinary man's character will be the utmost, to which the limits of a note will allow me to extend my observations. In those, perhaps, some new reasoning, on notorious facts, may be found; but it is right to premise, that little merit of discovery is claimed, as the general source of my intelligence, is Dr. Fiddes's history of Wolsey's life, and the authorities therein cited. Had the doctor done that justice to the subject of his treatise, which his materials might have enabled him, *this* attempt would have been unnecessary.

THOMAS WOLSEY was born at Ipswich, in the year 1471, of parents, not in great affluence, but, by no means, in those indigent circumstances, which the occupation, attributed by tradition to his father, would seem to imply. I take it, the notion of his being a butcher's son, had its origin in a circumstance, which some of his biographers produce as a proof of the fact. He built, it seems, the butchery at Ipswich. Over the entrance into it, was the cardinal's head in bass relief, with a butcher's knife by the side of it. The head was placed there to perpetuate the memory of the founder; the knife, probably, as emblematic of the purposes, to which the building was to be applied. is not this, at least, as reasonable a way of accounting for this device, as by supposing the knife to bear a reference to the founder's origin; as most of our historians, on no better foundation, have injudiciously asserted. Wolsey is universally accused of pride, and of affecting greatness, even to an equality with Kings. Surely perpetuating (and if he was the founder, it must have been his own act) his descent from a stock so humble, was an uncommon mode of offering incense to self-importance, pre-eminence, and pride.

THE family name was indiscriminately written Wuley, Wulcy, and Wolsey. His father's will, and two instruments from Rome, addressed to the cardinal, in the younger part of his life, have the former name; in all the records signed by himself in the latter part of it, which are extant, it seems to have been written after one of the latter forms. The first preferment, to which we find Wolsey

IT is somewhat extraordinary, that there should be no authentic

advanced, was a fellowship in Magdalen college, Oxford; where he had, but a short time before, at the age of fifteen, taken his bachelor's degree. Under his direction, as bursar of this college, it was, that its elegant tower, at this day the pride of Oxford, was erected. Being appointed master of a school, adjoining, and belonging to, this society, he had the care of three young men of noble birth, sons to the Marquis of Dorset. The extraordinary progress, they made under his tuition, procured him, from their father, the rectory of Lymington in Somersetshire, to which he was instituted in October 1500. Whether this cure was too private a situation to gratify the active and ambitious mind of Wolsey; or whether he met with some affronts in the neighbourhood, as historians have asserted; or the Marquis of Dorset's death rendered it disagreeable to him; he did not long reside there: but quitted it for the place of domestic chaplain to Archbishop Dean. That prelate dying in 1503, Wolsey was again left to the exercise of his talents at insinuation, to procure another patron. This he soon obtained, in Sir John Nafant, treasurer of Calais; whose confidence he so far won, in a short time, that the knight, being old and infirm, suffered his new secretary to transact all the business of the office. This duty he executed with so much zeal and punctuality, that Sir John, on his return to England, procured for Wolsey the post of chaplain to the King. In 1506, he was presented by the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury to the living of Redgrave, in the diocese of Norwich. His office in the King's chapel, however, giving him a pretence for still living about the court, he found means to insinuate himself into the favor of Fox, bishop of Winchester and lord privy seal, and of Sir Thomas Lovel, chancellor of the exchequer, at that time the only confidential ministers of the King. By their means he was recommended to Henry; who saw in him so ready a wit, a deportment so dignified, and a spirit so enterprising, that the discerning monarch immediately pitched upon him as a fit person to go and conclude a treaty, at that time depending, with the Emperor Maximilian. This service Wolsey performed with so much alacrity and advantage, supplying even defects in his credentials by the readiness and superiority of his own sagacity, that the King, astonished at his extraordinary talents, determined, from that time, to take the young divine immediately under his own protection. Accordingly, the deanery of Lincoln, becoming soon after vacant, was bestowed upon the new favorite.

THE death of Henry VII, and the accession of his son and successor, just at the dawn of manhood, with all the ambition and fire of nineteen, opened a promising field for the exertion of Wolsey's abilities. An opportunity soon offered, for the exertion of his talent at intrigue, of which he profited admirably. The Earl of Surry, Lord Treasurer, and Bishop Fox, were the heads of two opposite parties; each of which was endeavoring to supplant the other in the favor of the young monarch. The latter minister found in Wolsey an useful and zealous supporter; but, as it has not unfrequently happened, the servant in arguing the cause of his patron, so won upon the affections of his master, that Henry, in order to get rid of the disquietude, which the perpetual squabbles of his contending ministers produced him, determined to supplant them both, by the appointment of Wolsey himself to

documents respecting the particular instances of Wolsey's liberality

the post of sole confidential minister. This office he exercised with the most absolute authority for many years ; and, therefore, must alone bear the blame of such public transactions of those times, as redounded to the disadvantage of the kingdom, or the discredit of the sovereign.

THE first charge, which historians have exhibited against Wolsey, is that of ingratitude to his patron and benefactor, Fox ; whom " he obliged by unkind usage", say they " to retire from court". True it is, that, after Wolsey's promotion, this prelate quitted the service of the state, for the duties of his diocese. But that event may be sufficiently accounted for, without laying the crime of ingratitude to the charge of Wolsey, unsubstantiated by proof; even unsupported by evidence. The bishop, grown old and infirm in the business of the nation, and having established his confidant and friend in the patronage of Henry, may, reasonably enough, be supposed to have even *voluntarily* sought relief in the prospect of ease, which the retirement of his diocese promised his declining vigor. But if his secession from court *must* be judged *involuntary*, may it not, with as much probability, be attributed to his own peevishness and jealousy at this exaltation of his servant, as to any other cause? The morose and solemn manners of the old prelate were ill adapted to the impetuous and sprightly sallies of the boyish King; and it can be matter of no wonder, if some contrivance was laid hold of, to rid the palace of so troublesome a monitor. But, in truth, if we reflect a little on the character, which our best historians seem agreed in attributing to Fox; if we attend to what is said of him by Roper, in his life of Sir Thomas More (and Roper knew him well) viz. " that he would not stick at even parricide to please the King"; if we remember, that Fox was the minister, who gave the sanction of his patronage to those two infamous instruments of oppression, in the former reign, Empsom and Dudley; Wolsey's reputation will suffer little from the charge of having refused to act in subordination to so unprincipled a man, when he had been long enough in his confidence to discover the profligacy of his heart. Of all men, whose manners history has recorded, Wolsey was best able, by the versatility of his talents, to please such a monarch as his master. Henry was indolent, haughty, arbitrary, enthusiastic, and debauched. Every one of these qualities this minister was peculiarly fitted to flatter. With a capacity equal to bear the whole burthen of government; a dignity of person, and majesty of manner, that seemed the counterpart of Henry's; a firm persuasion of the unlimited power of Kings; a taste for disputation, with a peculiar facility of appearing to be convinced; uncommon vivacity, when not under the restraint of decorum; he could always adapt himself to the fluctuating humor of his master, and the exigencies of the hour. He could, with the same facility, dance, or sing, or partake of a debauch, as he could direct the operations of war, or give audience to the representatives of sovereigns. Those who know the human heart, must perceive of how great value such a minister must be to Henry. Is it matter of surprise then, that grant after grant, and preferment after preferment, should be lavished on a man whose talents were invaluable to their employer, because the loss of them was not to be supplied from any other quarter? is it matter of surprise that the favorite of such a King should amass wealth, power, and honors, when they were so easy to be

to his church of Southwell. It is generally agreed, that this was the

obtained? The only enquiry to be made, is, did he sacrifice the welfare of the kingdom to his own emolument? Historians in general, have taken for granted that he did; but not one has advanced any evidence to prove it, which is not capable of another interpretation. Let us examine the transactions in which he was most notoriously concerned, and we shall find, what Godwin says, to be strictly true, "that never did the interest of England prosper so well after the fall of Wolsey, as while he directed her affairs". In 1515, the claims of the English crown on that of France, added to the martial spirit of the King, induced Henry to meditate a rupture. Wolsey, the confident Wolsey, had his master's ear, and was now the arbiter of peace or war. Was his conduct under these circumstances, that of a servile minion, who only preserves his power by flattering the foibles of his employer? By no means. He had his opinion, and he avowed it publicly; but so desirous was he that policy and experience, and not passion or prejudice, should dictate, that he sent for Fox, with the Dukes of Norfolk, and Suffolk, and the other old councillors of the crown, to court, that the question might be fairly canvassed, and openly debated. It was so; and, though Wolsey was, at first, almost alone for war, so irresistible were his reasons, drawn from the great and growing power of France, and the declining affairs of Maximilian, that his opinion prevailed. War was the consequence; and that war, with the opinion of its author, was crowned with triumph.

PEACE was scarcely concluded, upon terms, as humiliating to France, as they were advantageous to England, when the Emperor Maximilian died. This changed the face of affairs, and would have puzzled a man, of less discernment than Wolsey, how to act. The balance of power in Europe, a subject of which we have heard so much of late years, was scarcely thought of then. Wolsey, indeed, whose quick apprehension, and enlarged views, were not to be limited by the narrow maxims and contracted learning of the times he lived in, seems to have been thoroughly skilled in this sort of political knowledge: at least, every measure he advised, was in conformity with such views, as a strict attention to the balance of Europe would have suggested. Charles, king of Spain, was now elected Emperor (A. D. 1519). At the head of so vast a monarchy as the Empire and Spain, with all the provinces, at that time, dependent on them, Charles seemed to threaten universal slavery to all Europe. In this situation it became no longer the interest of England to weaken the only power that was able to make head against so potent a prince. At the same time, it was as little to be wished that we should, with an exhausted exchequer, drained by late wars, and the extravagance of the King, provoke the jealousy of Charles. With such infinite address did Wolsey conduct the negotiations of this difficult period, that, in one and the same day, he sent the Emperor home (from a visit which he had been paying the court of England), highly gratified with Wolsey's friendship and generosity; and attended Henry himself on his way to France, for the famous interview, which was about to take place with Francis I.

Of this magnificent meeting Wolsey is supposed to have been the principal promoter, and is treated by historians, as having no other motive for it, but an ostentatious display of his own

favorite place of his residence, whenever he could be long enough

grandeur. Subsequent circumstances, however, would induce us to believe more serious business was the object of this interview; for, before Henry's return into England, he again met Maximilian near Graveling, where a tripartite league, to which the Empire, France, and England, were the contracting parties, was reviewed, and assurances of faith and friendship mutually exchanged between the two former potentates, under the particular protection of Henry. It is true, the French King, not long after, thought fit to forget these transactions, and make war upon the Empire. As true it is, that the King of England, or, which is the same thing, the Cardinal, espoused the cause of the latter; but not till he had conferred with both princes, and endeavoured to reconcile their differences, and had found the French King, not only unreasonable in his demands, but averse, on any terms, from peace. Circumstances were now much changed from what they had been, but a little time before; or rather they began to appear in their true colors, now that time and reflection had contributed to remove that false glare, with which extended empire, and imaginary power, had surrounded the throne of Charles. There are limits, beyond which the energy of executive government cannot be exerted; and where the extremities of empire prove but the means of exhausting nourishment, while they neither supply activity, nor partake of circulation. Such was now believed to be the state of Charles's dominions. Almost as unbounded as his own ambition; but composed of such discordant materials, as to present languor in every limb, and disease at the very heart. Wolsey's acute discernment was not to be imposed upon by those appearances, which deceive the ignorant. For the same reason he opposed the Emperor before, he supported him now; because the balance of Europe required it at the hands of England. Another cause, too, concurred to excite the zeal of Henry himself at this time on the side of the Empire. Charles was the great champion of the catholic faith; while France, however bigotted her monarch might be, was become, from motives of policy, the asylum of Luther's followers.

THE captivity of Francis, and the superior influence of Charles's stars, were circumstances against which no human foresight could provide; but though they baffled the designs of Wolsey, which were only to make the Emperor more equal to Francis, not his master; these accidents, unforeseen as they were, only occasioned the Cardinal's conduct to be more decisive, and gave him an opportunity of displaying, with more unequivocal testimonies of resolution and sagacity, the undeviating line of policy, by which he determined to elevate his master to the dignified situation of arbiter of Christendom. He not only procured the liberty of the captive King, but, without any further stipulation, than the payment of arrears already due from France, entered into a treaty with him, offensive and defensive, which was most religiously observed during the remainder of Wolsey's life. Of this generous conduct Francis was highly sensible; and, in his public letters, with which a special ambassador to England was charged, on the recovery of his freedom, he bore ample testimony to the spirited and disinterested interference of the Cardinal. And, indeed, Wolsey proved himself worthy of the acknowledgement; for, though the Emperor afterwards endeavoured to buy him off from the interest of France, even Polydore Virgil, his bitterest enemy of all our historians, expressly says, that all Charles's offers were rejected with contempt.

absent from the business of the state, to enjoy retirement, at a

THE large sums of money, and ample revenues, which Wolsey received from foreign powers, have been considered as a decisive proof of his corruption. To this much may be said; so much, indeed, that, without incontestible proofs of guilt, the strongest arguments may be inferred from it in favor of the Cardinal's innocence. If he did not betray the interests of his country, while he promoted his own, no blame is to be imputed to him on the public account; but, it should seem, a man, so well versed in human affairs as Wolsey, would not have accepted emoluments, the magnitude, the mode of accruing, the frequency, and the notoriety of which, could not possibly escape the detection of rival courtiers; and, consequently, could not fail to produce the foulest suspicions respecting the integrity of him, who received them without the knowledge of the King. I would rather suppose that the pensions, which were paid to Wolsey, were by the consent of Henry; who, always profuse, and always poor, was glad to have so good a storehouse for treasure, which he could, at most times, borrow, and could, at any time, dedicate irrevocably to his own extravagance, by the sacrifice of his minister. It was below the King's dignity to receive pensions from foreign courts; but, by these means, his rapacity was gratified, while he might hope his honor was saved. A strong argument, in favor of this supposition, is Hampton court palace being built by the directions, and with the money, of Wolsey; but for Henry's habitation.

THIS composes the sum and substance of the Cardinal's public conduct. For this, so much obloquy has been thrown on his reputation; and, in support of the sentence, every thing which malignity could suggest to a mischievous imagination, or credulity propagate, has been raked from the repositories, where the rancorous malice of the Cardinal's rival cotemporaries had placed them, by indiscriminating reporters, for the purpose of blackening his character. War was never proclaimed, nor peace ratified, according to these historians, but for the purpose of promoting Wolsey to the papacy. That he aspired to that dignity is undoubted. That he did so was meritorious; whether it was to gratify his own ambition, or whether it was to serve the country that produced him, and the monarch under whose genial influence he had ripened into a situation that enabled him to become a candidate. It is well said, by Bishop Burnet, in his history of the reformation, that "while Wolsey ruled the councils of England, she never engaged in an alliance, which was not to her advantage". Such a declaration, from such a man, is better than a volume of arguments, and is a sufficient answer to such improbable accusations, so feebly supported. Hume also, in his history, observes that "the subsequent conduct of Henry was so much more criminal than that, which had been influenced by Wolsey, that one must attribute much more blame to the King's violent temper, than to the Cardinal's improper counsels".

WE have now seen this extraordinary man advanced from a private station in a college at Oxford, through several gradations of preferment, till, at length, he rose to the highest posts of trust, of honor, and advantage, in his own country, and became the umpire in every convulsion among the states of Europe. His character of Archbishop is that, indeed, which more particularly brings Wolsey under

distance from the capital: but, except what can be collected from

our notice here; but his multiplicity of other employments, while he was in possession of this preferment, and the precipitancy with which he fell, prevented his visiting the principal seat of his archiepiscopal dignity; and therefore, in that capacity, there is but little of him to record. Southwell is believed to have been the only palace belonging to the see of York, that was honored by his frequent residence. This, being at a moderate distance from London, is said to have been his favorite place of retirement from the business of the state. The palace would, probably, to a man of Wolsey's luxurious and magnificent manner of living, present the most prominent object for his liberality; but, though that be in ruins, there are still supposed to remain about the church some marks of his inimitable taste, and princely munificence.

BEFORE we conclude the subject of our present examination, let us touch upon his conduct, as Administrator of the *internal* government; and as the patron of letters, the Mæcenas of his day. One of the principal charges against the Cardinal has been his excessive vanity and ostentation; which induced him to set himself above the King in the capacity of prime minister; above the laws in that of Chancellor. That the magnificence he displayed was greater than that of any English subject, either before, or since, his time, will readily be granted; but, if it be considered, that he was a Cardinal; the favorite of so splendid a monarch as Henry; that he was the representative of the English nation in his embassies to foreign powers, at a time when it was particularly necessary to give Europe a high idea of the wealth and grandeur of his country; and, that, at home, he had all the dignity of the government to support, while the King only pursued his pleasures, it will perhaps, at least, extenuate this foible of the Cardinal's, if not cast some degree of lustre over the conduct it occasioned. As Chancellor of England, he has been accused of being arbitrary and absolute, despising the laws of the land, and introducing doctrines against justice, establishing courts against precedent, and punishing without moderation. It is enough to say, that these made part of the famous articles, which were exhibited against him, but that none of them were proved, nor a single charge brought home to the detriment of his honor or integrity. In these respects he is acquitted also by Lord Herbert, the most intelligent historian of those times, and a man not much disposed to give more credit to the Cardinal, than a strict impartiality called for.

SIR THOMAS MORE, and Ammonius, the two particular friends of Erasmus, in their correspondence with that great man, bear the most ample testimony to the upright conduct of the Cardinal, as Chancellor; and also, (though here he has been under much suspicion), as to the purity of the means, by which he obtained the office. These letters, with others of the same kind, are preserved among the correspondence of Erasmus.

It is true, he exercised a legantine authority in England, which was contrary to statute. At that time of day, it was supposed the power of the crown could dispense with the rigor of the law; and with this very authority he was invested, at the request of the King; and had continually exercised it

the visitation of Nottinghamshire, (before cited), tradition, and

by his instigation. That he erected new courts of enquiry, and of punishment, is certainly true; but, however they might be against the law of the land, they were in furtherance of religion and morality. In these, we are told by Hollingshead, “the poor might procure justice without paying for it; by these oppression was banished; avarice and rapaciousness were made to refund; the licentious were restrained; and the turbulent were deprived of the means of mischief”. All those who had the care or receipt of the King’s revenues, he looked after with a degree of exactness, that gave them great offence; and it is no wonder that men, obliged to be honest against their wills, became the bitterest of enemies. All the historians of the times agree that, so heartily did the Cardinal set his face against a crime, which the profligacy of the age had made common, that, at length, no such thing was heard of in the kingdom; I mean perjury. A pretty strong proof that his much censured severities were but a conscientious discharge of his duty and his office.

ONE article of his impeachment, in these times of liberality, affords another instance of the Cardinal’s merit, as the minister of a country. The purport of it is, that he was so indulgent to heretics, that the errors of Luther, and of the other reformers, gained ground.

INNUMERABLE other instances might be produced, to shew, that, however addicted he might be himself to particular vices, he was, in his public capacity, the patron and promoter of morality and religion. Nor was he less so of letters. There was scarce a learned society in the kingdom, during the Cardinal’s power, but boasted of him, either as their founder or friend. There are many letters and addresses from the universities of Oxford, and Cambridge, still extant, among the archives of both these places, wherein they bestow upon him all the commendations, gratitude and admiration could suggest—“Majestas regni”—“Literarum Pater”—“Præsens Numen”—&c. From the former of these learned bodies, indeed, he particularly merited every mark of esteem. Beside the many public buildings there, which still remain the unrivalled monuments of their founder’s magnificence, he instituted and endowed seven Leetureships—Theology, Law, Physic, Philosophy, Mathematics, Greek, and Rhetoric. Of the latter university he was Chancellor; and in the execution of the duties annexed to that office, was equally gracious, liberal, and attentive. In his native town of Ipswich, he founded, what has generally been called, a college; though, by the directions given for its institution, one would rather conceive it to have been a school: It, probably, was designed as a place of preparation for his foundation at Oxford,

To the same universal patron of science the college of Physicians owe their incorporation; as their charter from Henry VIII expressly testifies.

THESE are among the more public, and positive, instances of protection, which this magnificent man held out to the lovers of learning; but not the whole of these foundations, taken together, were so effectual in their operation, toward the advancement of the end in view, as the *means*, by which

conjecture, are the only sources, which present us any information

he enabled himself to endow these new formed societies. The corruption of the times, and especially in the manners of the clergy, was the subject of complaint among all orders of mankind. Wolsey's discernment could not but discover the source of the evil; but to apply a remedy was an object, the difficulty of which was only surpassed by his resolution to overcome it. The monasteries, he well knew, were the temples of superstition, ignorance, and vice; but they were also the pillars, on which that mighty superstructure, the dominion, and the faith, of Rome, was supposed to rest. Wolsey, as a professor of that faith, and a minister of that dominion, whatever might be his private opinion of its authority, was to proceed with caution in his meditated attack upon its foundations. He knew he was, of late, suspected to have no veneration for the apostolical see, beyond the emoluments, which his submission to it furnished him; he knew, therefore, that an unqualified abolition of any of those faithful fraternities, would raise a clamor against him, sufficient to defeat his project. The wary Cardinal first convoked an assembly of divines, as we are informed in the history of the reformation, at his own house; by whom he procured the doctrines of Luther to be solemnly condemned. This acceptable service, done to the court of Rome, at once silenced suspicion, and ensured compliance. Immediately after this, he applied for his holiness's permission to suppress some of the smaller monasteries, for the purpose of erecting colleges, and endowing seminaries of useful learning, and religious education.

HISTORIANS seem agreed, that it was from this hint Henry, afterwards, took his determination of effecting a general dissolution of monastic foundations, through the kingdom. Rather let us suppose, as (from the frequent mention made by the Cardinal's biographers of the suspicious current in his time) we reasonably may, that *this* was only the beginning of a comprehensive scheme for the suppression of religious houses, and a separation from the court of Rome, which this projecting prelate had instilled into the mind of the King. In whatever point of view we are disposed to consider Wolsey, as an able and an upright minister, or as a selfish and rapacious favorite, power and ambition are, on all hands, allowed to have been the most prominent features of his character, the predominating objects of his pursuit. He had twice failed in his applications for the papacy, and the prospect of that dignity seemed now further removed from him, than ever. By a delegated authority, however, from the holy see, he enjoyed a power so unlimited, both in extent and duration, that, even in Rome itself, he was nick-named *the Pope of England*. It may be allowed, that Wolsey's pride revolted at the acknowledgement of a superior; in this Henry was not inferior. How far the latter was to be gratified by an emancipation from the fetters of papal tyranny, the events of his reign fully testify. It seems no unreasonable conjecture, that the Cardinal had this matter in contemplation, and not more so, that, with the civil aggrandisement of his master, he projected his own, in the spiritual dominion of the kingdom. By many he has been considered, as the casual and unconscious promoter; but let us rather suppose him, fortified as we are by the opinion of the times, and the event of his measures, the voluntary and legitimate father of that stupendous work, the reformation. Let me not be understood to mean, that it was Wolsey's design

respecting the private habits, or the local transactions, of one of the

to overturn the national faith, or the ceremonies of its establishment. To a mind fond, as his was, of splendor and parade, it offered too many allurements, to be relinquished without regret; but, if we advert to the articles of his impeachment, to the testimonies of historians respecting his moderation toward the reformers, and, above all, to several letters of Wolsey's cotemporaries, addressed to Luther, and Erasmus, one must rather be determined to follow, as Wood says in his *Athen. Oxon.* "the traditionary reporters and credulous transcribers of narratives, dictated by envy, contempt, and hatred," than the evidence of our own senses, not to perceive that it was Wolsey's design to suppress those receptacles of corruption, the monasteries; to reform the manners of the clergy; and to annihilate that imperium in imperio, the dominion of Rome within the realm of England. That he was himself a candidate to be the dispenser of that dominion, is no objection to such a supposition: mature reflection, a change of circumstances, even disappointment, might produce an alteration of views, or a conviction of judgment. If there existed but a cause proportioned to the effect, whether it was suggested by pique, or patriotism; by interest, or virtue; by the ardor of liberty, or impatience of controul; it can only impeach the purity of the motive, but not the credibility of the fact. In what I have hitherto offered, to support the opinion of Wolsey's attachment to the persons at least, if not to the doctrines, of the reformers, I have only attempted to place, in a clearer light, arguments, which have been already suggested by those authorities, from which I profess to take this sketch of the Cardinal's life. There is one circumstance, however, less noticed than it deserves to be, which seems to give great plausibility, at least, to this conjecture; perhaps I might say, which places the fact beyond the reach of controversy. This is, that, in 1525, when the Cardinal appointed persons to occupy the fellowships, and other offices, in his new collegiate foundation at Oxford, a very great majority of them were, in the language of those times, notorious heretics. Among these was the famous Dr. Cox, first bishop of Southwell, and afterwards of Ely; who, notwithstanding he was obliged to leave the university of Oxford, on account of his reforming principles being obnoxious there, remained in the highest favor with Wolsey during the whole of that minister's life; and was afterwards selected, as the warmest reformer among the bishops, to be Almoner to Edward VI; and lastly, one of the confidential ministers of Elizabeth. The persons who occupied the places in this new-formed society, were elected partly from one university, partly from the other. The nomination of those, which Cambridge was to supply, was left with Dr. Shirton, master of Pembroke college, the most famous Lutheran of his day. He, as it may be supposed, nominated those, whose opinions he approved. The event justified his appointment; for, when the bigotry of the times denied them security elsewhere, they were protected in their persons, and their consciences, by the liberality of their founder. Cranmer, who afterwards sealed his faith with his blood, was one of those, to whom a place was very early offered in this assylum: a distinction he would gladly have accepted, as we are informed by a late writer of his life, if gratitude to the society of Jesus college in Cambridge, which had just elected him a second time into one of their fellowships, under circumstances peculiarly flattering to him, had not forbidden it. After a lapse of more than two centuries, it is difficult to separate truth from falsehood; the panegyrick of friendship from the

greatest men that ever presided over this, or any other church. To

sentence of public opinion. The character of Wolsey presents a proof, that even error is made respectable by time. To the justice, however, of the foregoing observations, the letters of Erasmus bear the most ample testimony; and to the judgment of Erasmus the evidence of ages may submit. If it be urged, that this great man has sometimes censured Wolsey, let the occasions of his doing so be considered. He has accused him of pride, which every one acknowledges; and of making more promises than he could perform, a circumstance, which his situation imposed on him. But he has immortalized him as an able minister, and an upright judge; as the patron of learning, and the protector of virtue.

It now only remains to take some notice of the circumstances, which conspired to ruin this mighty minister, and magnificent prelate. It has been well observed, that in vain does the tempest roar among the inferior trees of the forest: secure in their own obscurity, they defy the storm; while the majestic oak, whose towering head rises proudly above his fellows to intercept the dews of heaven, exposed to every blast, but disdainng submission to the strongest, at length falls an unpitied victim to his own ambition. Such was Wolsey's fate.

His house being considered as the habitation of the muses, happy was the man, of whatever family, or dignity, he might be, who could procure admission into it for his children, as a place of education. Among others of the nobility, who lived with him, was Lord Percy, son of the Earl of Northumberland. Between this young nobleman, and Ann Boleyn, there grew an intimacy, which ended in a contract of marriage. Whether to gratify the King's rising passion for this lady, or because he thought her a match unworthy of so exalted a youth, does not appear; but the Cardinal contrived to let both the King, and the Earl of Northumberland, be informed of the connexion. This information was no sooner communicated, than both his sovereign, and his father, laid their commands upon the youth not to prosecute the affair any further. The lady, chagrined at this affront, and not doubting but the Cardinal was the author of it, vowed eternal vengeance against him. Henry's resolution to put away his wife, and place Ann Boleyn on her throne, soon supplied fresh occasion of offence against the Cardinal's conduct, and an opportunity of resenting it with effect. It is well known he and his colleague, Campejus, threw every impediment in the way of the projected divorce. This delay the impatient bride attributed to the malice, which was, perhaps, occasioned by the conscience, or the policy, of Wolsey. True it is, that the legates eagerly received every dilatory plea to the proceeding; hoping, in the mean time, that the lady would yield without a marriage, and that the King's passion would, of course, subside. A thousand circumstances operated to encourage such a wish, but, in all probability, none more forcibly to our Cardinal, than the prospect of resentment from Ann Boleyn, if she should become Henry's partner in his throne. Nor was Catherine, the wife whose abandonment and disgrace the King was meditating, less irritated against Wolsey. Precise and punctilious in her manners, and disgusting in her person, the Cardinal had never shewn her that attention, which, perhaps, her virtue entitled her to; and which, as his

bring those works, however, into one point of view, that have been

sovereign and mistress, she expected. Thus circumstanced, it is no wonder she attributed to his intrigues the alienation of her husband's heart. If she could even have prevailed with herself to have doubted this, her pride, as a Queen, was too much insulted by being forced to appear, in some sort as a criminal, before the tribunal of a subject; and that subject too the particular object of her aversion.

HENRY himself, irritated by delay, became absolutely frantic; and, though he knew not to whom positively to impute the blame, his disappointment prepared him for the first impression, art or malignity might wish to make.

THE ill humors of all parties were now combining to burst upon the head of Wolsey; and, it must be confessed, so fatal to his friendships had been the intoxication of prosperity, that not one hand, of all those he had patronised, was now interposed to protect him from the threatened storm.

THE detail of subsequent events is too well known to need a repetition. Ann Boleyn became the wife of Henry. Wolsey, however, scorned to flatter her upon the throne, whom he had despised, and opposed, in a private station: he would not, by involuntary applause, consecrate an union his soul abhorred. The proud Queen, prouder, perhaps, because she was not entitled to pre-eminence, was not long in determining her measures. To humble the Cardinal was the first object of her exaltation; but to make the gratification of her resentment more exquisite, at the very instant his ruin was preparing, she addressed to him a letter, as flattering and as friendly, as imagination could invent.

FROM the moment his dismissal from office was determined on, his fate presents nothing but a series of mortifications, and a succession of misfortunes. Every hour produced some fresh example, some dreadful instance, of the instability of a favorite's power, and the precarious tenure of a tyrant's friendship. Henry was not of a temper to do any thing imperfectly; love was with him but the prelude to adoration, as resentment was to ruin. When the favorite of a King falls, he falls to rise no more. Wolsey's palaces were seized, his goods confiscated, his person insulted. Under these circumstances he set out from London, in hopes of being permitted to spend the remainder of his days in peace, at the palaces of his diocese.

IN the spring of 1530, he retired to the favorite retreat of his more prosperous days, Southwell. In the latter end of the following September, he proceeded to Scrooby; and soon after to Cawood; where he began to make preparations for a public entry into York, and a magnificent enthronization. In the mean time, however, the new favorites at court, knowing the capricious mind of Henry, and dreading a return of his affection for a minister, whose loss he could not but, at times, lament, procured Wolsey to be arrested on a charge of high treason, and brought on his way to London for

generally attributed to his munificence, and in which the church of

an instant trial. The Cardinal's mind, already languishing under its load of calamity, could no longer bear up against this aggravated weight. He sunk into a state of utter despondency, and incurable disease, and arrived at Leicester but just time enough to receive the spiritual consolation of the Abbot and his Convent. His anguish was too keen to permit his lingering many hours. His last moments were employed in acknowledging his offences to his Maker, but protesting his fidelity to his sovereign. "Oh! Father Abbot," exclaimed he, "had I but served my God, as I have served my King, he would not now have forsaken me in my grey hairs." Thus died Wolsey; a man, in whom there was somewhat to be blamed, more to be pitied, and most of all to be admired. It is matter of less surprise that his character should have been traduced, when it is recollected, that the most profligate man of the age, Polydore Virgil, wrote his history; and that this very historian had been imprisoned, at Wolsey's instigation, for the most notorious corruption. The only author who has done justice to our prelate's memory, is one of the same century, whose profession alone seems to have prevented that credit being given to his testimony, which its truth deserved. Shakespear, evidently intending to intimate, as far as the reign he wrote in would permit, his own opinion of Wolsey, puts these words into the mouth of Griffith, Queen Catherine's gentleman usher.

" This Cardinal,
 " Though from an humble stock, undoubtedly
 " Was fashioned to much honor from his cradle;
 " He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
 " Exceeding wise, fair spoken, and persuading;
 " Lofty and sour to them that loved him not;
 " But, to those men that sought him, sweet as summer.
 " And though he were unsatisfy'd in getting,
 " (Which was a sin) yet in bestowing, Madam,
 " He was most princely; ever witness for him
 " Those twins of learning that he rais'd in you
 " Ipswich and Oxford! one of which fell with him,
 " Unwilling to outlive the good he did it.
 " The other, though unfinished, yet so famous,
 " So excellent in art, and still so rising,
 " That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue.
 " His overthrow heaped happiness upon him;
 " For then, and not till then, he felt himself,
 " And found the blessedness of being little:
 " And to add greater honors to his age
 " Than man could give him, he dy'd fearing God".

To which Catherine is made to answer,

Southwell is reasonably supposed to have been benefited by his bounty, they are as follow— viz. 1, the furnishing, at least, if not the erecting and founding, a library in the archiepiscopal palace; 2, the insertion of the beautiful arch at the entrance of the chapter house; 3, the purchase of the little park contiguous to the palace.

MARY.

THIS Queen, it has been, in a very early stage of this work, observed, was a very great benefactress to the church of Southwell. As that part of the subject, which was then under discussion, naturally introduced the mention of her bounty much at large, it is unnecessary to repeat it here. Suffice it to observe, that most of its revenues having been seized by the crown, or alienated by the Archbishops of York, during the reign of Edward VI, they were restored by Queen Mary.

NICHOLAS HEATH, archbishop of York, was the great instrument and promoter of the royal patronage; and, therefore, considered in that light alone, is intitled to a place in the catalogue of benefactors to the church of Southwell*.

“ After my death I wish no other herald,
 “ No other speaker of my living actions,
 “ To keep mine honor from corruption,
 “ But such an *honest chronicler* as Griffith.
 “ Whom I most hated living, thou hast made me,
 “ With thy *religious truth* and modesty,
 “ Now in his ashes honor.

* THIS Prelate had been promoted to the see of Worcester by Henry VIII, but was deprived by Edward VI, for refusing to take the oath of supremacy. He was restored by Queen Mary, and soon after, viz. 1555, was translated to York. The bull of Pope Paul IV, which confirmed his election, is the last instrument of the kind acknowledged in this see. Heath was of the popish persuasion, and, therefore, not very popular, at a time, when the reformed was the fashionable religion. He appears, by all that can be collected of him now, to have been a man of learning and

ELIZABETH.

EXCEPTING the body of statutes, which this Queen gave to the chapter of Southwell, no instance of her particular patronage or protection is upon record; but, as good laws are, perhaps, to be esteemed the first blessing of every society, this church is under the highest obligation to Queen Elizabeth.

ARCHBISHOP Sandys* lived at Southwell the major part of a long prelacy; and, therefore, probably must have contributed something,

integrity; mild in his manners, and devout in his adherence to the faith he professed. He had great influence with Queen Mary and her ministers, which he used only for the best purposes. By means of it he procured a restoration of most of the estates, which had been alienated by his predecessor; among the rest Southwell, and five other manors, in the county of Nottingham. "It may be truly said," writes Willis, "that the see of York owes more than a third part of its present revenues to Queen Mary, and this Archbishop." At the time of that Queen's death, our prelate was chancellor of the realm. By the authority this office gave him, he called together the nobility, and commons, to protect the succession of Elizabeth, whom he caused immediately to be proclaimed. This instance of loyalty the Queen never forgot. She deprived him of his see, as a roman catholic, with thirteen other bishops; but she honored him with her confidence and friendship, as a worthy man. He retired to an estate of his own at Cobham in Surry, where, says the author of the *Speculum Anglorum*, "Queen Elizabeth continued to make him frequent visits till the end of his life, which was in 1566."

* EDWIN SANDYS, sixty-third archbishop of York, was translated from London to this see in 1576. He made a conspicuous figure in his day, and has been more the subject of panegyrick from one description of men, and of obloquy from another, than most of those who have filled the same elevated situation. Sandys is one of the few prelates, who is entitled to a more particular mention here, partly on account of this diversity of opinion; partly, because he lived in times of difficulty, controversy, and importance to the interests of the church; but most, because Southwell was the place of his constant residence, after he had obtained the archbishoprick, and, at last, was that of his interment. Godwin calls him "*nobili ortus familia*", he was born at Hawkshead in Lancashire, where he built and endowed a free school, which still flourishes, and is famous for having produced many eminent scholars. He became master of Catherine hall, and was vice chancellor of the university of Cambridge, at the time of King Edward's decease, and the consequent proclamation there by the direction of the Duke of Northumberland. By that minister's command, himself being, says our last mentioned author, "*non admodum invitatus*". Sandys preached a sermon

if it were only to the palace, for the accommodation of his very

before the university, in favor of Lady Jane Grey's title; but with so much modesty and moderation, that no man could be offended at it. He was thrown into prison, as might be expected, with all those who had appeared openly in support of Lady Jane; but, though his confinement was considered as a piece of necessary state policy, yet his moderation had so far recommended him to the Queen, that, after about ten months imprisonment in the custody of Sir Thomas Holcroft, the favorite of Queen Mary, he found no great difficulty in procuring his liberty. The only condition annexed was, that he should leave the kingdom; "which he did", says Godwin, "with his wife and family". He lived in Germany the remainder of Queen Mary's reign. On her demise, he returned to England, and was soon distinguished by Elizabeth, as one of those who had suffered in the protestant cause: that, and an opposition to Mary, even in support of Elizabeth's competitor, being considered as inseparable.

OUR prelate was one of the eight divines appointed to hold a disputation with as many romanists, before the two houses of parliament at Westminster. He was consecrated Bishop of Worcester 1570, then removed to London, and lastly to York in 1576. Matthew Hutton, afterwards archbishop, was, at this time, dean of York. Hutton was a man of great learning, and prodigious preferment. He was a person of no very high extraction, though, as we learn from Lodge in his illustration, not as Drake calls him, a foundling and a pauper; and having been, by his abilities, in a great measure, the author of his own success, he became vain, turbulent, and intriguing.

OSTENTATIOUS in displaying his wealth, talents, and authority, nothing pleased him but what favored his passions, or augmented his power. Sandys was, in every respect, his opposite: except, indeed, that he also had abilities; but they were rather of the solid and useful, than of the brilliant and shewy kind. Mild, humble, and sincere, he despised external splendor, from a natural inclination to retirement; but the calls of a very large family attached him still more to seclusion, upon principles of œconomy. Two such men, nearly connected by office and situation, were not likely to live long together in harmony. The Dean accused the Archbishop of avarice and corruption, of being mean and interested in all his transactions; and of prostituting the preferments of the church to the aggrandisement of his family. Sandys retorted the accusation of self interest, but of a worse kind; not from views of laudable œconomy; not to supply the wants of a craving family; but to gratify ambition, pamper pride, and promote the purposes of turbulence and malice. The Archbishop seems never to have thought of this world, but when an opportunity offered of making a provision for those that were to follow him: the Dean never to have thought of this, but for himself; nor of another, till he approached its confines.

THE address of Sandys to Lord Burleigh, the minister of the time, vid. App. No. 25, will afford a striking proof of that great man's attachment to our worthy prelate; and, at the same time, display in lively colors, not only the occasion of this quarrel, but the character of the Dean. It is to be found in Baker's MSS. in the public library at Cambridge, vol. 34.

numerous family; but, as no particular instances of bounty are come well authenticated down to our times, and the distinguishing foible of this prelate is said to have been excessive parsimony, there is no room for indulging conjecture on the subject. His executors, at least, have benefited the church by a magnificent monument, which they erected to his memory. It is esteemed a curious one of its kind, and therefore will claim a more particular mention among the antiquities of Southwell.

JAMES I.

KING James's memory is perpetuated on Lee's pillar, for having perfected the establishment of the church of Southwell; but that is the only authority I have met with for such an opinion. Certain it

ELIZABETH had her personal, and her political favorites. Burleigh was of the latter description; and, therefore, never had more weight with the capricious Queen, than his abilities, as a statesman, exacted. In opposition to a favorite of the other description, Burleigh's influence was small. The Dean was protected by those that were more powerful: Burleigh indeed prevented him from triumphing; but he came off with safety, if not with credit. Sandys was not of a temper to struggle with so proud a priest; so, to avoid contention, he retired to his palace at Southwell; where he resided the remainder of his time; happy in the affections of his wife, the obedience of his children, and the respect of the neighborhood. What Fuller says of this prelate shall conclude the account of him, "He was", writes he, "an excellent and painful preacher, of a pious and godly life, which increased in his old age; so that, by a great and good stride, while he had one foot in the grave, he had the other in heaven. It is hard to say whether he was more eminent in his own virtues, or more happy in his flourishing posterity". He died July the 10, 1588, and was buried in the church of Southwell. A description of his monument is inserted in a subsequent page.

HE left a widow, Cicely, sister of Sir Thomas Wilford, and nine children by her. The eldest of these was Sir Samuel Sandys, Kt. the ancestor of the present Lord Sandys. This Sir Samuel appears, by an inquisition taken in the 22d year of James I, to have died possessed of large estates in the counties of Worcester, Essex, and York. The Archbishop had a former wife, who died in his arms during his banishment in the former reign, by whom he is said to have had a son settled in the county of Kent, but no such son is noticed in his will; which records, with peculiar minuteness, every person, and matter, in which he is known to have felt an interest. It is a very remarkable instrument, and preserved in the App. No. 26.

is, that he visited this place in his way from Edinburgh to London, when he came to take possession of the English crown; and we are informed by Deering, in his history of Nottingham, that his majesty was in the county five times afterwards.

CHARLES I.

To the bounty of Archbishop Harsnet, in this reign, Southwell church is indebted for its communion plate*.

WILLIAM III.

THE first instance of bounty, in this reign, was a present of wood from Norwood Park, by Archbishop Lamplugh, for the purpose of building the residence house; but of what value does not appear †.

* HE was on his way from Bath to his palace at Southwell, the favorite place of his residence, when he was taken ill at Morton in Gloucestershire, and died. He left, among other legacies, fifty pounds to the chapter of Southwell, for the purpose of furnishing the communion table with plate.

HE appointed his body to be buried in the parish church of Chigwell, at the feet of Thomasine, his beloved wife. And further willed, that this inscription should be engraven on brass, and placed on his tomb, which was faithfully complied with.

“HIC jacet Samuel Harsnet quondam Vicarius hujus Ecclesiæ, primò indignus Episcopus Cicesteriensis, dein indignior Norwicensis, demum indignissimus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis.”

† ON the death of Dolben, the predecessor of Lamplugh, King James wished to fill the see with a catholic; but matters not being quite ripe for such a step, he kept it vacant till the critical year 1688. Thomas Lamplugh was bishop of Exeter at this time, and was almost the only man of consequence or interest, in that city, or county, who adhered steadily to King James. When the tide ran so strongly there in favor of William, that our prelate perceived it was folly to stem its torrent any longer, he hastened to London, and presented himself to the deserted monarch, at a time when he had scarce a friend about him, whose opinion he could ask, or on whose sincerity he could rely. We, who enjoy the blessings of the revolution, may, perhaps, condemn the errors of the Bishop's judgment, but every man must admire the sincerity of his attachment. When neutrality

IN 1693, by a decree of chapter, it is declared, that “they hold themselves wholly obliged to the extraordinary dilligence of the Archbishop of York (John Sharpe) for the recovery of five hundred pounds of arrears due to the church of Southwell from the crown.” But it no where appears whence this arrear arose. Not long after this, the same prelate digested a code of laws for the regulation of the college of Southwell, to which the members yielded a ready obedience*.

promises security, and opposition honor, he who rejects the solicitations of both, to support an unpopular establishment, justly earns the title of *good*, however he may forfeit that of *wise*. The forlorn monarch was willing to shew himself not void of gratitude; and, at a time when he might reasonably have been excused, if he had thought of nothing but his own safety, he provided for the honest prelate’s dignity, by promoting him to this see. He was enthroned, by proxy, December 19, 1688, being in the seventy-fourth year of his age. He died May 5, 1691, and was buried at York.

* THIS prelate was born in 1644, at Bradford in Yorkshire, where his father was an opulent merchant, descended from an ancient family in that county. He was Archbishop of York in 1691. It was somewhat singular, that of those sovereigns, under whose particular patronage he lived, he contrived to offend two of them so much, as to have the severest public censures passed upon him; but was, afterwards, by both of them, as eminently caressed, as he had been notoriously rebuked; and that too, without making any concession unbecoming his high rank, or great character. The first instance of this kind was in the reign of James II, to whom he was chaplain. At the very time that monarch was endeavoring to introduce popery, Doctor Sharp, at Saint Giles’s church, of which he was minister, several sundays together, preached against the superstitions of the romish faith. This was represented to the King; who, thereupon, directed the Bishop of London to suspend him from preaching any where in that diocese. After many fruitless applications to be restored, but without ever renouncing his opinions, he received, at length, a letter from the Earl of Sunderland, full of kind expressions, and a permission to return to his function: this happened in January 1686-7. In 1688-9, he was appointed to preach, January 27, before the Prince of Orange, and, January 30, before the convention. On both these occasions he prayed for King James; a circumstance that occasioned much surprise, and gave great offence to William, till explained by our amiable divine himself, in such a manner, through the medium of his intimate friend, Archbishop Tillotson, as not only to do away any ill impression, but to secure the friendship and confidence of that monarch; who, in 1691, nominated him to the archbishoprick of York. He has been justly considered as one of the best men, one of the ablest divines, and one of the most respectable prelates, of that, or any other age. He was highly in favor at the court of Queen

IN the same year, the Earl of Clare gave one hundred pounds towards completing the residence house, and furnishing the library.

IN the same year also the Archbishop of York gave the chapter twenty pounds, for the same purposes.

IN the same year, on condition that the chapter should demise certain lands on lease, and grant certain other privileges, to Mr. John Chappell of Mansfield Woodhouse, he gave to the chapter, towards finishing their residence house, one hundred and fifty pounds.

KING William gave four hundred pounds to the chapter, to provide an afternoon lecture on Sundays.

THE following inscription on the wall of the church, near to the north door of the choir, records the liberality of Thomas Wymondesold, to the church of Southwell, in this reign.

THOMAS WYMONDESOLD* of Lambeth in the county of Surry, Esquire, gave unto this church a set of chimes and 20 shillings per annum for ever toward the keeping of them. 1693.

Anne, for his steady attachment to the church of England, as established at the reformation; and to the government of England, as established at the revolution.

AMPLE testimony is borne to his virtues by two men who bring to recollection the well known observation of "*laudari a laudato viro*". These are Burnet in the history of his own time, and Bishop Smallridge in the epitaph, which points out the place of his friends sepulture in the Cathedral of York. It has been considered as a remarkable specimen of elegant writing. Vid. App. No. 27.

* THE Wymondesolds are a very ancient family in the county of Nottingham, living principally at Southwell. Thoroton's Nottinghamshire contains their pedigree from the reign of Henry V, to that of James II. The name, I believe, is now quite extinct; at least, there is no one remaining in the neighborhood of Southwell who bears it.

It appears, by the will of this benefactor, that his donation was not of an annual sum of money, as one might be led to suppose by this inscription, but of a piece of land within the parish of Southwell; to the whole rent arising from which the poor of it are entitled, under the words of the will, “whenever the chapter shall suffer the chimes to be so out of order, that they shall not play for six weeks.”

ANNE.

THE first instance of bounty, in this reign, was a present of as much timber to the chapter, by Samuel Lowe, Esq. of Southwell, as was necessary toward building a vicarage house for the parish vicar. The only other, which appears on record, is a contribution of five hundred pounds, by the Dutchess of Newcastle*; the occasion and application of which, will be treated of more at length hereafter. Suffice it here to observe, that this donation was for the purpose of rebuilding one of the spires of the church, which had been burnt by lightning.

GEORGE I & II.

THE short reign of George I presents no occurrence worth recording, relative to the church of Southwell, or its benefactors. Indeed that which succeeded, (if it were not that the two venerable prelates who filled the archiepiscopal chair during its continuance were too eminent, and too amiable, to be wholly passed over in silence; †) though of unusual duration, is not very attractive to a

* THIS Dutchess of Newcastle, was Margaret, third daughter, and coheiress of Henry Cavendish, duke of Newcastle. She married John Holles, earl of Clare, who was created duke of Newcastle, and died 1711, without issue.

† THESE two prelates were Herring, and Hutton, who seem, according to the vulgar notion, to have been born, and to have lived, under one and the same planetary protection. A great intimacy

Southwell historiographer; for it was scarcely more productive of

between them commenced while they were members of the same seminary, Jesus college, in the university of Cambridge; where these two eminent men were admitted nearly at the same time. Herring had the start by a single day, and he kept the advantage through life; but so little inferior was the fortune of his friend, that one was immediately succeeded by the other in no less than three sees; viz. Bangor, York, and Canterbury. Thomas Herring, 78th archbishop of York from Paulinus, proved every way worthy to fill that high office. He may be said, without exaggeration, to have united, in his person, the most amiable qualities of the best of his predecessors; the magnificence and penetration, without the pride, of Walsey; the mildness and moderation, without the timidity, of Sandys; the learning of Sharp, with the politeness and affability of Dawes. Our prelate after possessing four or five small livings, in succession, presented to him, or procured for him, by his patron, Fleetwood, then bishop of Ely, whose chaplain he became in 1722, was, in 1726, appointed preacher at Lincoln's Inn chapel. This promotion was the first foundation of all his future preferment; for here it was, that his manly elocution, and unaffected delivery, so won the admiration of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, that his Lordship determined to place him in a situation, where his extraordinary talents might be more publicly, and therefore more beneficially, exerted. The first step, after this, was being appointed one of his Majesty's chaplains; an office which was, in those days, very properly considered as an earnest of future preferment. In 1737, he was made bishop of Bangor, and, in 1743, was translated to the archbishoprick of York. He had not been long in his diocese, before he was called upon to take a conspicuous part in the transactions of a period, big with events the most important to the religion, and the liberties of England. To trace the rebellion to its source, which broke out in the year 1745, is not within my province; as little is it to my purpose to accompany the accomplished, but ill-fated youth, who was the leader of it, through all his marches and counter-marches, from the time of his arrival on the coast of Lochabar, to his father being proclaimed King of Great Britain, in the capital of Scotland, on the 17th of August, 1745. It is sufficient for our purpose to observe, that, as the Pretender marched through the Highlands, his army, like a torrent, seemed to roll from the mountains, and to gather as it went. The boldness of the enterprise astonished the whole kingdom; it awakened the loyalty of many in England, the apprehensions of all. The army, sent to oppose the progress of the rebels, being beaten in the battle of Preston Pans, threw the governing part of the nation into a panick; but it was that sort of panick, which operated to convince them the more of their danger, and of the necessity there was for a vigorous opposition. In this crisis our Archbishop stepped forward, and declared to his clergy, that "he should think it no derogation from the dignity of his character, or the sanctity of his function, in times, when the religion and liberties of his country were at stake, to change his pastoral staff for a musquet, and his cassock for a regimental coat." He resided in his diocese, exhorting them by his sermons, and animating them by his example, to resist, by every means within their power, the threatened storm. The zeal and intrepidity of the Archbishop called forth the exertions of the laity. The three Lords Lieutenants of the county of York held consultations

any particular munificence among the patrons and protectors of this

upon the mode of collecting the strength of their respective divisions, and opposing the progress of the enemy. They came to a determination, more flattering to the memory of our prelate, than all the eulogy of the most labored panegyrick. They requested him to take the management of this arduous business, and employ them in such a manner, as he should think most beneficial to the common cause. From this time, the Archbishop's palace became the center of consultation and intelligence, in the northern part of the kingdom. One of the first measures, adopted here, was to call the county together, for the purpose of an association; two days previous to which meeting, the Archbishop took the opportunity of a public fast, appointed by government, to address the county in a much-admired sermon.

THE meeting of the county was appointed to be holden on the 24th of September, in the castle of York, when a very great concourse of the nobility, clergy, and gentry, assembled. The business of the day commenced with a speech of considerable energy and spirit, from the Archbishop, and concluded with an unanimous resolution to support the government, and to oppose the pretender.

AFTER the defeat of the rebels at Culloden, the Duke of Cumberland on his return to York, received a congratulatory address from the Archbishop, at the head of the clergy of his church, and diocese.

HAVING given this detail of events, in which the Archbishop was a principal actor, it is time to sum up his general character, and attend him to the last stage of his preferment.

To what has been said before, respecting the urbanity of his manners, and the greatness of his talents, it is necessary to give some account of the political opinions, as well as the general conduct, of one, who acted so conspicuous a part on the public stage. To draw the characters of men so near our own time is a task of great delicacy, and of more difficulty than is generally apprehended. Recourse must be had to the enemies, as well as the friends, of the person, whose portrait is to be taken; or the representation will either be too flattering to preserve a likeness, or it will be an odious caricatura. After all, the painter is obliged to put together features so opposite, as are not easily to be reconciled: and, at last, perhaps, must submit to the accusations of injustice, and partiality: of injustice from the few, whose friendship has made them blind to imperfections; of partiality from the multitude, who always look for censure, to balance the invidious superiority of rank, and talents. One set of authorities are to be trusted with caution, and the other it would be ungenerous to produce; so he must himself be alone responsible for the likeness. Herring was certainly a very sincere protestant; and, as such, a steady friend to the house of Hanover; but I have no hesitation in asserting, upon good authority, that his politicks were monarchical, and his

church, than that which immediately preceded it.

religion high church. His good sense, however, so far corrected one bias, and his good temper the other, that neither did the former make him servile, nor the latter imperious. I mean, by this, only to shew, that zeal in the contest, where we have seen him so eminent, arose from no personal attachment to the monarch, or his family; nor to the cause that called them to the throne. It proceeded not from any speculative opinions of the subject's right to freedom; nor from any very enlarged ideas of the British constitution: but it was the effect of religious conviction, and civil allegiance. Herring was sincere in his attachment to the religion he professed; and he believed the support of that religion to be intimately connected with the safety of the family in possession of the crown. To that family also he had sworn allegiance, and from them he had received protection. These were the pillars, on which the Archbishop rested his opinions, and which supported his zeal. If we examine attentively the sentiments, which he uttered on every public occasion, we shall find them perfectly correspondent with this observation.

HE did not consider the appointment of parliament, or the voice of the people, as the foundation of the King's title to the obedience of his subjects. He doubted, perhaps, the authority, by which the sceptre had been wrested from the family of the Stuarts: but he had found another in possession of the inheritance, whose title he had bound himself, by oath, to defend; and a breach of that oath he treated as the most flagrant violation of faith, the most unprovoked and profligate perjury. His manner of considering this subject seems to have been uniform in every period of his life, and on every occasion, where he was called upon to publish his opinion. In 1739, soon after his appointment to the bishoprick of Bangor, we find him preaching before the Lords, on the 30th January, from the words of St. Peter, "submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake." On this occasion, in the unaffected language of good sense, and plain sincerity, he considers the duty which the prince, and people, mutually owe, each to the other. Under the former division of the subject, he establishes many excellent maxims of government, with great freedom, liberality, and candor: in treating the latter, he allows much to liberty, and to the *motives* which had produced the several revolutions in the government of this country; but, without considering the legality, or (if I may so express myself) the constitutionality, of its foundation, recommends obedience to the present establishment, on his favorite ground — "Peace, and the benefits of submission to the powers that be."

No man could be more popular in his country, or more beloved in his diocese, than Herring was, while he enjoyed the first preferment in it; and, if he was not proportionably regretted when he was removed, it was only, because the claims of his near relations gave him but few opportunities of gratifying, with preferments, those, whom his good humor and affability had flattered into expectations of his friendship and protection. I shall close the account of this great man in the words of a preface to a volume of his sermons, published since his death. "His application, learning, and

A present of some books to the college library by Dr. Samuel Sharp; a chandelier for the choir by Dr. Drake; and a throne for the reception of the Archbishop, by Hutton during his pontificate, are the only instances on record.*

“eloquence, recommended him to esteem; his candor, temper, and moderation, preserved it. His religion was that purest kind, which christianity inspires: it was piety without superstition, devotion without hypocrisy, and faith which worketh by love.” He was translated to Canterbury, 24 November, 1747, and died at Croyden, in 1757, where, by his own desire, he was buried in a private manner. He left behind him many monuments of his munificence. To the society for the relief of clergymen’s widows and orphans, he bequeathed one thousand pounds; to Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, one thousand pounds, in south-sea annuities, toward rebuilding their fabrick; he laid out considerable sums on the house and gardens at Bishopthorpe, while he presided over the province of York; and was not less liberal to Croyden, and Lambeth, after his translation to Canterbury.

* DR HUTTON, bishop of Bangor, the intimate friend of the last prelate, succeeded him in the see of York; being elected November 30, 1747, and enthroned, by proxy, on the 29th of December following. He was a man of business, and of learning: in the latter point he has been thought, by some, superior to his predecessor; but he was without that majestic person, those engaging manners, and that fire and brilliancy, which recommended even the most insignificant of Herring’s addresses. Herring, and Hutton, removed, at the same period, from the society at Cambridge, in which they were first admitted, and for the same reason. The learned Dr. Ashton, as celebrated, at that time of day, for his attachment to the principles, if not to the persons, of the exiled royal family, as for the uncommon depth of his erudition, was master of Jesus college. The leading members of it were men of the same party; and consequently, warm opposers of those ministers, under whose direction the Hanover family had placed the affairs of the kingdom. Hutton was a true whig; Herring, as has been observed, was, at least, a zealous Hanoverian. However clearly later observations may have demonstrated, that these were, by no means, convertible terms; the warmth of party zeal, at that time, when the contest was, perhaps, full as much between the two rival royal families, as between their respective maxims of government, occasioned the distinction to be too generally overlooked. The two students perceiving, that persons, no way their superiors in real merit, received encouragement from the rulers of the society, while no prospect of protection was holden out to them, determined on removing to other colleges; where either the politicks of the body were more congenial with their own, or where opinions of that kind were not considered as the test of merit. Herring went to Corpus Christi, Hutton to Christ’s, college. This prelate’s first step towards promotion, was being made chaplain to King George II; in which capacity he attended his majesty in an expedition to Hanover. It was one of that amiable monarch’s unfashionable

GEORGE III.

THIS reign has been distinguished by an unusual number of donations to, and of improvements in, the different parts of this collegiate establishment.

THE bounty of Richard de Chesterfield, in the reign of King Richard II, to the vicars of this church, by rebuilding their college, has been already noticed in this chapter. From that period to the present reign, no money seems to have been expended upon these buildings, but what absolute necessity, from time to time, required. A long lapse of years had rendered them extremely ruinous, and concomitant revolutions of manners and fashions had made them appear so incommodious, as no longer to be proper places of residence for gentlemen of liberal education, and of reasonable preferments. The project of taking down the old college, and rebuilding it in a more modern and convenient form, was no sooner made public, than donations, for the purpose of enabling the chapter to carry it into execution, flowed in from every quarter. All the officers of the church, from whom any contributions might reasonably be expected, made them with unexampled liberality. The Earl of Harborough, who had formerly been one of its prebendaries,

virtues, never to forget those, whose services gave them a claim to his regard. The decency of deportment, and unaffected, respectful behavior of Dr. Hutton, won the King's esteem; and he rewarded them with a bishoprick, on his return to England. The Archbishop was accused of peevishness in the latter part of his life, and probably with reason, as it was by those who knew him best; but a sedentary habit had brought him into an ill state of health, which, perhaps, may, reasonably enough, be offered as an apology for some irritability of temper. To this prelate the church of Southwell, as has been observed, is indebted for the archiepiscopal throne. On the death of Herring, in 1757, Hutton was translated to Canterbury, where he lived but a few months.

subscribed two hundred pounds*. Dr. Caryl, one of its prebendaries, one hundred-†. His grace the Archbishop of York, fifty pounds‡; and Dr. Rastall, one of its prebendaries, fifty pounds§.

IN whatever was proposed for the benefit of this church, Dr. Caryl always stood foremost in the list of benefactors. To him the college library owes, at least; one half of its books; and the residentiary's house was benefited by his will in a legacy of two hundred pounds, towards the completion of the quadrangle, which that, and the houses of the vicars before mentioned, compose. Soon after this the Rev. James Willoughby became a prebendary, and dedicated fifty pounds to the same purpose||.

* THE Rev. Robert Sherard, third son of Philip earl of Harborough. He succeeded his elder brother, Bennet, in 1770. He was brought up to the profession of the church, and among his preferments reckoned a stall in the church of Southwell not the least agreeable, having always manifested a particular partiality to the place and its inhabitants. On succeeding to the peerage he gave up most, if not all, his preferments in the church, and not long afterwards laid aside the clerical habit.

† THE Rev. Lynford Caryl was a native of Nottinghamshire, and son of Timothy Caryl one of the prebendaries of Southwell; he was master of Jesus college in the university of Cambridge, and one of the prebendaries of the churches of Canterbury, Lincoln, and Southwell. When party ran high in the university of Cambridge during the reign of George II, Dr. Caryl took the whig side, and became particularly serviceable to the Duke of Newcastle, who was then its chancellor, and was rewarded by his grace with the preferments just enumerated. He died about the year 1782, and left the whole of a very considerable property to an adopted daughter, having no relations in blood, since the decease of a Lord Caryl (so created by James II after his abdication) who died without issue in France, (as was supposed) soon after the revolution.

‡ WILLIAM MARKHAM, eighty second archbishop of York.

§ FATHER to the author of these pages, and noticed in a former part of them as vicar general of the church of Southwell; to whose partiality for the place, and unremitting attention to its concerns for more than twenty years, this church owed an unexampled augmentation of its revenues.

|| BROTHER to Henry, Baron Middleton.

To the Rev. Sir Richard Kaye, Bart. one of its prebendaries, the church is indebted for some handsome prayer books*; to the Rev. Edward Crofts for a large collection of choral music†; and to the Rev. Dr. Heathcote for many instances of liberality; as is the library for many valuable books‡.

A few books were added to those, which had been already presented to the library, by the Rev. — Greenoway, formerly a member of this church, and latley incumbent on one of its livings.

THE collection of books, in the college library, having now become considerable, and the room, where they were placed, being neither spacious nor convenient, it was determined in the year 1784 to take down that, and also the school, (formerly Archbishop Booth's chapel) which stood at the south-west corner of the church, and were considered as a deformity, from their destroying the regularity of the building. Sir Richard Kaye, Bart. dean of Lincoln and prebendary of this church, before mentioned, having given fifty pounds towards a new library, one was soon after erected in a convenient place on the south side of the church.

ABOUT this period several alterations were introduced into the government of this church, especially by reducing the number of its

* BROTHER in half blood to the late Sir John Kaye, Bart. and successor to him in the title; Dean of Lincoln, Archdeacon of Nottingham, as well as one of the prebendaries of this church of Southwell.

† FORMERLY one of the vicars choral of this church, and afterwards rector of Brandon in the county of Suffolk; To whose labors, the author, in a former part of this work, has acknowledged his obligations.

‡ THE Rev. Ralph Heathcote, whose life has been already noticed in his capacity of vicar general of this church.

officers, and augmenting the salaries of those that remained. Very early after his promotion to the see of York, the late Archbishop, Drummond*, drew up, for the consideration of the prebendaries of

* ROBERT DRUMMOND, eighty-first archbishop, was elected to the see of York, October 5, 1761, and enthroned, by proxy, the eleventh of the succeeding November. He was the second son of the late Right Honorable George Hay, Earl of Kinnoul, in the kingdom of Scotland, by Abigail, daughter of R. Harley, earl of Oxford. He took the name of Drummond from his grandmother, who was daughter of the Lord Viscount Strathallan. In 1737, he was appointed one of his late Majesty's chaplains in ordinary; from which office he passed through several posts of dignity in the church, till he was made bishop of St. Asaph, in 1748, and of Salisbury, in 1761. Soon after this last promotion, he particularly distinguished himself, by the sermon he preached on the coronation of their present Majesties, which was much celebrated for inculcating the most liberal maxims of government with peculiar energy.

It contained doctrines worthy of their author, and such as can never be too often repeated, both to King and people. It is natural to suppose, that the man who held sentiments fraught with manly freedom, would never prostitute a superior understanding to unworthy purposes. Support of government, the stale apology of every time-server, was too flimsy a pretext to influence such talents as our prelate's. Men pursuing different measures, and different interests, he knew could not be equally beneficial to the state, and therefore could not be equally entitled to the sanction of the wise and good. So long as the servants of the crown had his confidence, he was a zealous and an useful promoter of their interests in parliament; but when that system of government, under which the country had so long flourished, gave way to new measures, under the influence of new men, whose constitutional principles were, at best, suspicious, the Archbishop, with an independence that ever marked his character, withdrew his countenance and support. His manner of doing this is even more worthy of admiration, than the measure itself. As a churchman, he thought it unbecoming his character to join in the wrangle of debate; as an Archbishop, he deemed it derogatory from his dignity to become a member of a faction; as an honest man, he believed it ungrateful, and indecent, actively to oppose the administration of a prince, to whom he personally owed the highest obligation. Impressed, however, as he was with these sentiments of loyalty and decorum, he held it criminal to countenance, by his voice, or his presence, what his judgment, and his integrity condemned. Under these embarrassments, the line of conduct he pursued, was that of withdrawing from the senate, where his vote was ineffectual, but where his attendance might have been misconstrued. He redoubled his diligence in the care of his diocese, and the private affairs of his own family. One, out of many instances, of the former, is the more proper to be noticed, as it is so little congenial with the usual suggestions of splendid abilities, and a brilliant imagination. On his promotion to York, he found the greatest confusion among the papers belonging to the see; these

the church of Southwell, the outlines of a very extensive plan, for

he methodised with the most scrupulous exactness, and made to them a very considerable addition in his own hand writing. A work too laborious, and unentertaining, to have been dictated by any motive but a consciousness of its utility. Let it not be thought, however, that he deserted his duty, or the interests of the church, when he thus withdrew himself from parliament. Whenever any question was introduced, in which the interference of a churchman was particularly proper, he was sedulous in his attendance, indefatigable in his endeavors, and prompt in delivering his sentiments. Whenever he mixed in debate, he shone with superior lustre; for, though he rather neglected, than cultivated this talent, nature had endowed him with it in an eminent degree; as those who recollect the part he took in several debates, which were connected with that establishment, in which he filled so honorable a station, will readily allow. Nor was he more admired for the qualities which adorn a senate, than distinguished by those which rendered him useful in his profession, and esteemed in society. His manners were noble as his birth; his disposition engaging, his friendship sincere. No man could better support the dignity of his station; no man was more affable, more condescending, and more accomplished, in his general intercourse with the world. Wherever he lived, hospitality presided; wherever he was present, elegance, festivity, and good humor were sure to be found. To discover a foible in such a character, would be to put one out of conceit with human nature. There are those, however, who have construed his politeness into emptiness and hypocrisy; his festivity and cheerfulness into unbecoming levity, luxury, and intemperance; and his dignity into pride. Let the envious and the disappointed enjoy such reflection; but the candid and the liberal will acknowledge that his very failings were those of a heart warm, perhaps, even to impetuosity; his virtues were those of a disposition formed for every thing amiable in private, every thing great in public life. Connected, as he was, with the first families in the kingdom, he had contracted habits and manners, which procured applause among the great and elegant; but, when transplanted to an humbler soil (where his duty suggested to him it was proper to reside) it is no wonder that, like the bird, whose plumage surpasses all others in the estimation of discerning man, but which exhibits to the vulgar fowls, who neither know its use, nor understand its beauty, only foolish pageantry and gaudy ostentation, those qualities should have been less valued than they ought, which were less understood than could have been imagined.

WHEN our prelate was translated to the see of York, he found the archiepiscopal palace small, mean, and incommodious; and the parish church in a state of absolute decay. To the former he made many splendid additions; the latter he rebuilt from its foundations, with the assistance of a small contribution from the clergyman of the parish, and two or three neighboring gentlemen. His bounty to this did not prevent his expending a considerable sum on the private chapel of the palace; which he much improved in point of convenience, and very highly ornamented. He also built a new gateway, at the approach to the archiepiscopal demesne, which is not inferior, in beauty and

the reformation of their establishment, and the amelioration of their ecclesiastical constitution. Among other projected emendations was that of having four residentiaries only, to keep hospitality and to superintend the discipline of the church, instead of all the prebendaries keeping residence in rotation. This particular part of the proposed regulations was disapproved by some of the prebendaries, and the scheme in general was at that time rejected. Such particulars of it, as he conceived his own powers sufficient to effect, he carried into execution; especially the abolition of the synod, as has been already noticed in the chapter respecting the constitution of this church. The alterations, which, it has been observed, have very lately taken place in this establishment, sanctioned by injunction of the Archbishop of York, are little more than a transcript of the plan proposed by Drummond, as far as the subject matters of both are parallel. The most prominent feature of coincidence is the abolition of public entertainments, and the application of the money to be saved thereby.

THE next improvement, which called for contribution, was a public terrace, made on the north side of the church yard, in the latter end of the year 1784. This is a commodious walk, well shaded from the wind on every side, extending the whole length of the church yard, and prettily planted with trees and shrubs. This (as well as the library) was executed under the direction and particular auspices of Dr. Peckard*, at that time canon residentiary,

magnificence, to the other improvements. These monuments of exquisite taste, and unparalleled liberality, will remain to posterity the subjects of admiration and applause. He died at his palace at Bishopthorpe, 10 December, 1776, and was buried, by his own desire, under the altar of the parish church there.

* THE Rev. Peter Peckard, rector of Fletton near Peterbro', on the presentation of Lord Carysfort; master of Magdalen college, Cambridge, on the appointment of Sir John Griffin Griffin,

and the expence of it paid by a subscription, to which most of the members of the church were contributors, and some of those inhabitants of the town, whose houses were particularly benefited by the improvement. The Archbishop of York also embraced this opportunity of manifesting his liberality by a further donation. Another contribution of fifty pounds, in the year 1786, by his Grace, to be applied towards improving the residence-house, closes the list of benefactors to this church and college.

afterwards Lord Howard of Walden; one of the prebendaries of this church of Southwell; and lastly Dean of Peterbro'. In the younger part of his life he made himself conspicuous by the publication of several pamphlets on the intermediate state of the soul. He took the heterodox side of the question, insisting on its quiescent state till a general resurrection. These, with some sermons, and other occasional essays on the subject of civil liberty, of which he was a warm assessor, were supposed to stand in the way of an earlier promotion to the higher dignities of the church. In the conflict of parties, and the extraordinary separation of old political connections, which were dissolved by the decease of the late Marquis of Rockingham, Dr. Peckard, with his friend and patron Lord Howard, took the side which turned out successful, and with him was rewarded by the minister, on the promotion of Dr. Sutton from the deanery of Peterbro' to the bishoprick of Norwich. He died 1798 of a cancer, occasioned by cutting off a wart from the side of his face in shaving.

ANTIQUITIES
IN THE
PARISH OF SOUTHWELL.

CHAP. VI.



WELLS.

THE first species of antiquities, which claim our attention, within the parish of Southwell, are its four famous wells: from one of which, as has been before observed, the town takes its modern name; and for another of which it has been scarcely less celebrated. The former of these is situated on the side of the hill to the south-east of the town, and about half a mile distant from it. The ground, in which this spring rises, belongs to the Archbishop of York, and is part of what was called, the Little park, contiguous to the palace. From the circumstance of its rising in the demesne of the Lord of the manor, it early obtained the name of *Lord's Well*, by which it is still distinguished. This was much used early in the last century, as

a bath, by persons afflicted with the rheumatism; and near it was erected a sort of recess or alcove of stone work, for the convenience of those that frequented it. This has long been destroyed, and the well is no longer frequented as a bath, but by the boys of the town for amusement; though its stream runs as pure and as limpid, as in the days of its pristine reputation.

THE second well, which demands our notice, was situated in the inclosure, on the right of the cloyster leading to the chapter house. Rising within the precincts of the church, it obtained the name of *Holy Well*. This has been long covered over, or filled up.

ANOTHER of these wells had its name also from its situation, which was in the church yard, immediately under the walls of the choir, on the north side, near to the chapter house: this was called *Lady's Well*; the church being dedicated to our lady (the Virgin Mary) of Southwell, and the well within the consecrated ground of the church. It is known, that there was no spring at the bottom of this; wherefore its supply, which depended wholly on rain, was very precarious*.

* THERE is a story current in the place, that there was a communication between this well and some part of the church, by means of a pipe or conduit, through which the Romish priests used to make blood flow on particular days, and play other such pranks. This, I take for granted, was one of those many stories, so artfully cherished against this order of men, at the time of the reformation. Its design appeared to be merely that of a drain to the church, which end it very well answered, and had, probably, for this purpose, some connection, by pipes, with the roof, or other parts of the church. A melancholy accident gave occasion to its being covered over, in the year 1764. A Mr. Fowler, father to one of the vicars of the same name, was returning home, one very dark night, from a neighboring house, where he had spent his evening, when mistaking his road, which lay very near this well, he fell into it, and was drowned. It was immediately covered over, by order of the chapter.

THE third was at the extremity of Westhorpe, and was called *Saint Catherine's Well*, from a chapel contiguous to it, which was dedicated to that saint. The waters of this spring are said to be nearly the coldest in the kingdom. Within a century, they were much recommended for their virtues in the cure of several complaints, particularly the rheumatism. A house was built here by Mr. Burton of Norwood park, the proprietor, about the year 1720, for the accommodation of persons who came to bathe; and many additions were made to the well, both of convenience, and of ornament. Over the head of the fountain was a plate, on which some latin verses were inscribed, much to the honor of the tutelar saint, and the reputation of the water. The extraordinary *purity* of both was the subject of the panegyrick; and a participation of *this* quality was the promise holden out to those, who came to seek the protection of saint Catherine. The bath still remains, little injured in its appearance, not at all so in its salutary qualities; but the deity of the place is left to lament the absence of her high priestess, fashion, and the consequent diminution in the number of her votaries.

CHAPELS.

AMONG the antiquities of this place, must be reckoned the five chapels, which were formerly within the parish of Southwell, but of which there are now scarce any remains; though, less than a century ago, it is said, considerable parts of three of them were to be seen, and the situation of the other two were fresh in every one's memory. One of these stood in Easthorpe, in a place which acquired the name of Palmer's yard early in the last century, from the circumstance of Sir Matthew Palmer, Knight, building a mansion house there. It is

not improbable but that event might occasion the total destruction of this chapel, which had fallen into a ruinous state, from disuse, long before. This house, and estate, were sold by John, the younger brother of Sir Matthew, to one Roger Stayner, from whom it came by several mesne conveyances to Sir R. Sutton, Baronet; by whom it was settled on the see of York, in exchange for Norwood park, as will be further noticed hereafter.

A second chapel stood about half a mile from the former, in a large enclosure, contiguous to the road leading from Southwell to a place called Easthorpe pasture.

A third chapel was in the hamlet of Normanton, contiguous to a farm yard, to which it now serves as a barn. The walls of this continued in a state of tolerable repair, long after the others were totally decayed: the roof fell in, early in the last century, and in that condition the building remained several years; but, of late, a new roof has been put on, the walls repaired, and this ancient and deserted house of God, converted into a very useful house for the purposes of man.

ANOTHER of these five chapels, as has been already mentioned, was situated at the extremity of Westhorpe. This, we have seen, was dedicated to Saint Catherine; and being near the spring, before treated of under that appellation, gave its name to the well, whose cures have done such honor to the patron saint.

THE fifth chapel, for a long time baffled the utmost industry to discover it; but, at length, the instructions of an ingenious friend

before mentioned, contributed to ascertain the exact spot of ground, on which it stood*. It was at the upper end of Farthing street, between the road to Burrige hill, and that which leads down to Burrige green. A person of the name of Gilbert, who lately lived on the premises, perfectly recollected the foundations being dug up and sold. To what saint it was dedicated, and all other particulars relative to it, are now beyond discovery.

MORE than twenty years ago, a spacious stone building was removed from the upper end of, what is called, the Hill close, (at that corner of it which abuts upon Burrige hill) which had much the appearance of a chapel. An aperture, which seemed to have been a gothic window, remained in the west end. No history or tradition is to be met with, which gives an account of any place of worship in this situation: but an opinion prevails, among the older inhabitants of the town, that an hospital once stood here. If so, this stone building was probably part of that, and might indeed be a little chapel or oratory belonging to it.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

IN Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* mention is made of an hospital, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, in, or near, this place, in the year 1313. No vestige of this remains, nor is it to be collected, from any memorial of it, where it stood; with what revenues, or by whom, founded; nor for what number of persons designed. The only probable conjecture that can be formed, at this time†, is, that the

* THE late Rev. E. Crofts before mentioned.

† IT may be necessary, to observe, that application has been made to the registry at York, for the book which Tanner cites as his authority; but that none such is to be found.

chapel-like building, last mentioned, and otherwise unaccounted for, might be a part of this very hospital.

THE chauntry, or college for the chauntry priests, is a large brick building, still standing at the north-west corner of the church yard. There is no account whatever of the time, when these priests were formed into a collegiate society, or when this habitation for them was erected. We know it must have been previous to the decline of the reign of Henry VIII; and, by the stile of building, it was not much, probably, if at all, prior to the beginning of that; especially if what Hollingshed tells us be correctly true; viz. "that, except " here and there in the western part of England, the buildings, even " in the best towns and cities of the kingdom, were composed of " timber and plaister down to the time of Queen Elizabeth."

THERE is said to have been a nunnery in the lower part of Southwell, on the north side of the road through the town, and on the east of the water, called Bullivant's dike. I find no mention, in any repository of records relating to religious houses, of such an establishment; nor can I discover any thing, which tends to confirm such a tradition; unless, indeed, it be considered as a confirmation, that there is no digging on either side of this water hereabouts, but very large stones, like the foundation of some building, are discovered; and I am told that, within the memory of some persons, a walk several yards in length, regularly paved with stone, was dug up there, at the depth of three or four feet. The old residence of the vicars, we have seen, was not far from here; so whether these foundations are to be attributed to any of the out-buildings belonging to that, or whether there was any such establishment here, as a nunnery, cannot now be decided; unless there being no trace of such an one

among the records relating to the dissolution of monasteries, be deemed conclusive evidence that none such was ever founded.

WHILE on this part of my subject, let me not omit to mention, what indeed is now no more, but which, while it was standing, was not without its pretensions to admiration; the vicarage or college, which was taken down in 1780. The history of this edifice has before been given, but a description of its curiosities belongs rather to this place. Natural decay, in some instances; and the suggestions of modern convenience, in many more; occasioned the most curious parts of this building to be taken down early in the last century but one; viz. the projecting windows, porches, and oratories, with which it abounded. Three only of these remained to our time. These were at the west side of the quadrangle, viz. one over the gateway into the church yard; another contiguous to the north side of it, with a western aspect; and a third over the door of the north-west house, looking into the quadrangle. The first and the last of these had been oratories, in the roman catholic times. Their ornaments ascertained their purpose, as well as their age: the end of every beam or trace terminating in the head, or body, of an angel; and every other place, which admitted of an ornamental piece of carving, being loaded with the two emblamatic roses of the houses of York, and Lancaster, in conjunction. The other projection was a bow window, much decorated with similar ornaments, and on the inside of the wall underneath it, in large, characters, **Wilhelmus Calbot.**

GATEWAYS.

IN all the church yards of ancient cathedral, and collegiate, churches, there were large gateways; erected at convenient distances,

for the purposes of processions. How many there may have been at Southwell it is now impossible to determine; but there are still three tolerably perfect, and the small remains of a fourth. Two of these are on the north side of the church yard, the other two on the west. Only one of them affords any thing either of curiosity, or of beauty: it is the most southerly of those on the west side. The arch is of the same kind, as those of the other gateways, and as all the oldest arches of the church, a complete semicircle. It has been ornamented in latter times, probably about the reign of Edward III, (when the choir was built) with a gothic niche. This building must strike every one, as a beautiful piece of ancient architecture; and even the antiquary, in admiring the whole, may overlook the incongruity of its parts. The other two, which remain tolerably perfect, are on the north side of the church yard. They appear to be of the same date, as the lower part of that already treated of; but are without any ornament, and present nothing worthy of much admiration, save their appearance of very remote antiquity.

ARCHBISHOP'S PALACE.

HAVING proceeded through all the inferior objects of consideration, among the antique buildings of this place, we come, lastly, to the palace.

THIS building was situated about thirty yards distant from the south side of the church. Even in ruins it retains much of its ancient grandeur; and, from them, we may still discover how spacious, and magnificent a dwelling it has been. "*Pulchra aedes placuit; pulchra ruina placet.*" The rooms of state were to the east; the lodging apartments to the south; on the west were the offices; and the north was occupied principally by the chapel, and the great hall; the latter

of which is the only part now remaining entire. This surviving specimen has lost much of its ancient grandeur by being converted into a dwelling-house; but there still remains enough of its former appearance to satisfy us, that it was, what it is said to have been, a magnificent hall; as also to inform us which of the Archbishops was its author. The large west window, an ornament never omitted in places of worship, and all other buildings of great public resort, while the gothic architecture was in fashion, now lights a room, appropriated to the justices of the soke, for their sessions: the remainder of the building is, by dividing it into stories, converted into a tolerably commodious house. At the east end, is projected from the wall an angel, bearing on its breast the arms of Cardinal Kempe, archbishop of York in the reign of Henry VI. He is said to have borne three corn sheaves, in allusion to his origin, which was that of a husbandman's son in Sussex. His munificence to this palace is recorded in a monkish distich:

*In Suthwell manerium fecit pretiosum
Multis artificibus valde sumptuosum.*

THE large gothic window, at the south-east corner of the palace, is said to have lighted a prodigious library; and that at the north-east, to have belonged to the chapel, (as a cross above it formerly indicated;) not inferior in size or sumptuousness*.

* THERE were several rooms dedicated to Cloacina, where that goddess seems to have been worshipped in a style of magnificence much greater than common. One of these temples still remains perfect, and is a very great curiosity of its kind: it consists of four spacious niches, or stalls, built round a pillar, in such a manner, that four of the goddess's votaries may be sacrificing to her at the same time, without any one being visible to another; though they are all within the same room, and indeed their respective seats not more than a foot one from the other.

OF the offices, which, it has been observed, were to the west, there are scarce any remains at this day: the quadrangle, where the principal part of them stood, was, some years since, converted into a pleasant and romantic bowling green, and is now let out to a tenant, for a garden.

THE Archbishops, who are supposed to have been the chief contributors to this building, were Corbridge, Kempe, the two Booths, Rotheram, Wolsey, and Sandys. The last of these, as has been already remarked, spent almost the whole of his time here, after his translation to the see of York; and was the last that did so. It was but about fifty years after his death, that all the contending parties, royalists, parliamentarians, and Scotch, contributed to its destruction and desolation. It is much to be wished, that its ruins may long remain in their present state, as more pleasing, or more picturesque, are not often seen.

IN Sir William Dugdale's visitation of Nottinghamshire, before cited, is the following account of the arms, and other devices, on the walls and windows of the palace at Southwell.

“IN the windows of the great hall in the palace, are the arms of Zouch, Beaumont, Priory of Thurgarton, Chaworth, Plumpton, Clayton, Markham, Merynge, Babington, Pierpont, Stanhope, Sutton, Neville, Willoughby, Strelley, Scrope, Cromwell.”

THE families, by whom these arms were respectively borne, were, probably, either tenants of the archiepiscopal estates in Nottinghamshire, or inferior benefactors to the palace. The coats of those Archbishops, to whom this superb edifice owed its erection, and also those of some few particularly magnificent contributors, were carved

on large stone, or wooden, escutcheons, and disposed in different parts of the great hall

FIRST is the coat of the Lord Grey of Touton, in the county of Nottingham, which, with those of Louvaine quartering Lucy, and the royal arms, (somewhat diversified according to the different branches of the royal family, in honor of whom they are introduced) were depicted on shields, and ornamented different parts of the roof in this hall. What connection the family of Grey might have with the Archbishop, or church of Southwell, does not now appear; but some of them were, probably, great contributors to its palace, by this distinction given to their arms. They were a family of great property in the counties of Nottingham and Derby and of great rank and consideration in the state. We are told by Ashmole, in his history of that institution, that Lord Grey was among those who were first honored with the order of the garter. The title became extinct in the reign of Henry VII, and the consequence of the family fell with it.

At the upper end of the hall was the coat of Edward the Confessor, between those of St. Peter and St. Paul. At the side of the room were three shields; one containing the arms of Kempe only, another having them united with those of the see, and a third displaying the arms of Cromwell quartering Tattersall*.

* The Lords Cromwell were possessed of great property in the county of Nottingham, especially at Cromwell, Carlton upon Trent, and Basford. Their title to quartering the arms of Tattersall is thus given by Camden. "Eudo, a Norman nobleman, had, by the favor of William I, large possessions in Lincolnshire. He held Tatteshall (or Tattersal) by Barony. From the posterity of this Eudo it came to the family of Cromwell, in the person of Ralph de Cromwell, whose son was treasurer of England, in the reign of Henry VI. With this Lord Treasurer Cromwell the title was extinct, and this, with other manors, passed into the family of the Clintons, earls of Lincoln. In the front of the castle, not long since, were to be seen the arms of the Cromwells, its ancient Lords". It is now the property of Lord Fortescue.

So much of the account in Rawlinson's MSS. before mentioned, as relates to the palace, is as follows:

“A cople of all such armes as be standing in stone, wodd, or glasse, within the Biscoppes place in Southwell. First at the entering of the porche is graven the armes of Kempe, archb. of Yorke, who founded the said house.”

“KEMPE, archb. Yorke, anno 1425, Lord Lewarre, Lord Roose, Lord Crumwell, Lord Gray of Codner, Percy, Menell, Cromwell, Lord Staforde, Thomas of Brotherton, 2d son of Ed. I, Percy, Lawrence Bothe, bishop of Duresme, A. D. 1457, William Bothe, archb. of Yorke, A. D. 1453, John Bothe, bishop of Exeter, A. D. 1466, Clifton and Menell, Heron and Bothe, Ratelyff and Bothe.”

“THESE five armes following be in the chapel; Kempe, Duke of Somerset, England, Henry, erle of Hartforde, Thomas of Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester.”

“THE armes of Saint Edward, a King of England before the Conqueste. and standethe, graven in wodd, in the upper end of the hall.”

“IN the hall is placed the issue of Edward III, with the armes of divers others, as after ensueth; Duke of Lancaster, Duke of Yorke, Duke of Gloucester, Percy and Lacye, Gray, lord of Codner, Kempe, John Kempe, archb. of Yorke, an. 1425, Lord Stafforde, Burnham, erle Waren, Zouch and Saintman quartered, Beamounte, A. of the chapel of Southwell, A. of Thurgarton, Chaworth, Percy, Perpointe of Holme-perpoint, Longvillers, percell of the armes of Stanhope, Clyfton of Clyfton, Markham of Cotam.”

“THESE following be in the windows of the west side of the hall; Cromwell and Daincourt, Lord Scrope, Lord Zouch, Babington, Strelley and Kempe, Willoughby of Willoughby, Cardinal Wolsey, Winton and Wolsey, York and Wolsey, Merring of Merring, Mcnell now of Holte.”

“AT the north end of the hall these armes with the ragged staffe, and these words. In Dmo. confido. Beauchamp and Mountain, Montacu and Nevil, erle of Salisbury, Archbishop Kempe.”

“ON the south side these arms following; Lincoln and Wolsey, Nevil, archb. of Yorke, 1466, Savage, archb. of Yorke, 1501.”

IN the collection of arms taken by Ashmole, there is no mention of any remaining in the palacc; wherefore, it is probable, the windows, on which they were painted, had been totally destroyed during the civil wars.

MONUMENTS, TOMBS, &c.

IN Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, book 6, page 27, is the following account of a body, and the coffin in which it was enclosed, being discovered at Southwell.

“A remarkable account of the body of some great personage, dug up at Southwell, in Com. Nott. on the 17th of March, 1717, as the same was then communicated by a gentleman on the spot, to the very reverend and learned Mr. Samuel Carte, M. A. Vicar of St. Martin's, Leicester, and afterwards by Mr. Carte to the Editor.

‘ON the 17th of March, 1717, as the sexton was digging Mr. William Andrews’* grave, in the south aisle of Southwell Minster, he, with his spade, broke off the end of a stone coffin; and, seeing it hollow, put in a measure, and found it longer, by a foot, than the usual length of a grave; and, opening it, found the body of a man, lying in his boots. The leather was fresh, and to all appearance sound; till on trial it tore like London brown paper. The stitches were plainly to be seen. The shape of the boot-toe was made to the foot. He was dressed in cloth of tissue; which plainly shewed the silver, by waving it in the sun, or against a candle. A wand lay by him. On his breast lay something like the cover of a silver cup, six or oct,—angular, it had something like an acorn with leaves round it on the top of it, but the hollow side was uppermost. By letting the moulds fall on his face, they could make no further discovery of his head, only that the skull was small and very thin, even transparent. His teeth were all very sound, and taken away by the spectators.

“THIS person, I conceive, was one of the family of Cauz.”

WHAT reason Mr. Peck had for supposing this person to be one of the name of Cauz, does not appear; nor can I discover that Southwell

* THIS family is now extinct at Southwell, after flourishing there from the time of Queen Elizabeth; when Launcelot Andrews, afterwards bishop of Winchester, was promoted to a prebend in the church there, by Sir Francis Walsingham, secretary of state to the Queen. This prelate was born in 1565; was successively fellow of Pembroke Hall, in the university of Cambridge; vicar of St. Giles’s, Cripplegate; residentiary of St. Paul’s; prebendary of Southwell; master of Pembroke hall; chaplain to Queen Elizabeth; bishop of Chichester; almoner to King James I; and lastly, bishop of Winchester. He resided much at Southwell, and a part of his family fixed there. He died in 1626, and was buried in St. Saviour’s church, Southwark. Milton wrote a celebrated latin elegy on his death. He was a man of extraordinary learning, for the times he lived in, and has been celebrated by many Biographers.

was the usual burying place of that family, or that they ever were in possession of considerable property there.

THE account given of this family, by Thoroton, in his history of Nottinghamshire, is shortly as follows.

‘LEXINTON or Laxton, says he, was the principal mansion or head of the barony of Robert de Calz, or Cauz. To this barony of Calz belonged the custody of the forests in the counties of Nottingham and Derby, as appears in the forest book, by Matildis de Calz owing a fine 4th Henry III, for seisin of the custody of the forests of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, which belonged to her by right of inheritance.’ The pedigree of the family, to be collected from different parts of the same, and other authors, is here inserted.

BESIDE these in the right line, there were many collateral descendants of the family of Calz, too numerous, and too intricate, to be inserted here; beside that, if the conjecture, respecting the name of the person found in this magnificent attire, be right, it is not likely to have been any other than the head of the family. I find Edmund Laycock, who appears, in the pedigree, to have married Sarah Roos, the lineal descendant of the family of Calz, possessed of property early in the last century, at Southwell; but whether any part of it came by his wife, and might, therefore, have descended from the name of Calz to her, cannot now be ascertained*.

* HAD it not been for the boots, one should rather have concluded this to have been the body of some church dignitary, and the cup and wand (as they are here called) to have been the very common appendages of the chalice and crosier. As there was a house of Knights templars in the immediate vicinity of Southwell (to be noticed hereafter) might it not be one of the principals of their house.

Now let us approach the tombs that remain in, and about, this church, which deserve consideration. In the body of the church, or ante-choir, there are three of some antiquity. One is in the north aisle, certainly the oldest in the church, and, probably, belonging to some person of the first consequence. It is the shape of a modern coffin, and stands under a circular arch, which makes a part of the north wall. From this circumstance, one would suppose it was placed here at the time the aisle was built, and particularly, as the arch is of the same species of architecture, as the building in general where we find it. These aisles it has been before attempted to be shewn must have been erected soon after the conquest. The founders, and patrons, of these sorts of religious edifices were generally buried in this way. Many instances occur in most of our cathedrals, where the tombs of the founders are incorporated into the walls of the edifice.

ALFRED, archbishop of York, died 1169, and the place of his interment is no where recorded with certainty. He was a great benefactor to Southwell, and it is not improbable he might choose to rest here; if so, this tomb, probably, contains his remains.

IMMEDIATELY opposite to this, is that of William Booth; which is a plain blue stone, making part of the pavement of the south aisle, with a very short inscription round the edge of it. The only part of it that is legible, contains his name, and the date of his death, viz. Wilhelmus Both, ob. 1464. This stone was removed from the chapel of St. John, built by this prelate, which stood very near, and has only lately been pulled down.

NEAR to this stone, fixed into the outward wall of the south aisle, is an elegant altar tomb, erected to the memory of Lawrence Booth,

(brother in half blood to the former Archbishop of that name) who died in 1480. Before we quit this part of the church, let us notice another curiosity of much later date; viz. the rings, to which, according to tradition, the horses of Oliver Cromwell and his army were fastened, when he made Southwell a place of rest, in his march to Preston to fight the Scots. These remain in many parts of the walls, and of the pillars; and one is particularly to be observed of a larger size than the rest, and of a different construction, fixed in the place of pre-eminence against the skreen, at a distance from all the others: this is said to have been distinguished by receiving the halter of the general's own charger.

IN the choir, and contiguous parts, are several tombs worth notice, particularly the six following. Thomas de Corbidge, archbishop of York, who died in the year 1303, lies under a large blue stone, on the foot of which stands the pulpit. On this stone there was originally a full length effigies of a bishop, in brass: this has been long taken off, but the inscription lately remained legible.

ON the north side of the choir, and towards the east end, under an arch of very elegant gothic work, stands a handsome altar tomb, with a full length figure reclining on it. The head is gone; and therefore, for want of some such distinguishing mark as a mitre, it is not possible to say, with precision, who it was intended for; but certainly, by the magnificence of it, for some great personage. From the robes of the figure on the top, it clearly appears to have been designed for a churchman. Some have conjectured it to belong to Godfrey de Ludham, archbishop of York, who died in 1264. He was, as has been before observed, of a Nottinghamshire family, not far from Southwell; was driven from York in the moment of phrensy, occasioned by his laying that city under an interdict; and retired to some other of his palaces, where he soon after died. If those who

give this monument to him are not right in their conjecture, there is no account whatever of the place of his interment. It may, indeed, be objected, that the Archbishop died before this part of the church was built. That, however, is an argument of no great weight, when it is recollected that, though the present choir was not then erected, there certainly was a building for the same purposes on its site; in which many of the tombs that appear in the present choir were, beyond all controversy, placed. The argument, which appears to carry the greatest weight against the supposition of its being Godfrey's, is, that the gothic work above it appears to be of a more modern date than the church itself*.

WITHIN the rails, near to the altar, on the north side, formerly stood the monument of Archbishop Sandys. It is a large alabaster altar tomb, with the effigies of the Archbishop reclining upon it. On the front are exhibited his widow, and nine children, kneeling. At one end are the arms of Sandys, at the other a long inscription.

A few years since, this monument was removed into one of the small chapels on the north side of the church, now called the vicar's

* HE succeeded to the see of York in 1258. He was obliged, by a new regulation of the Conclave, to go to Rome in person for his pall. He was of a Nottinghamshire family; Ludeham or Loudham, their place of residence, and that from which they took their name, being not far from Southwell. Stubbs tells us, he laid the city of York under an interdict for several months, in the year 1260. Tradition says, that being very unpopular at York, after this act, he came to spend the evening of his days at Southwell, where he died and was buried 1264. York has claimed the honor of receiving this prelate's remains, but I cannot find by what title. Not one of the writers on the subject attempt to point out the place where he was buried. Godwin only says he took it from Stubbs, "*in ecclesia sua sepultus est;*" without even saying in *what* church, much less in what part of the church. Suffice it further to observe, that neither of the competitors have any other foundation for their respective claims, but general tradition; but that in one of them there is a visible object, viz. a tomb, whose appearance carries some evidence with it, in aid of this tradition; in the other there is no such thing.

vestry*; where also is a tomb, with good reason supposed to be that of the famous Sir Henry de Nottingham, who, it has been seen erected so many chauntries here.

UNDER the most eastern arch, on the south side of the choir, is a very large, plain, altar tomb. There have been two brass plates on it formerly, with the effigies of a male, and of a female figure; whether the former was that of a churchman, with a mitre on his head and the usual robes of his profession, or whether of a military character, with a helmet and loose flowing robe, it is difficult to ascertain. If it be designed for a churchman, the accompaniment of the female enables us to guess, with great probability, for whom this tomb was designed. It must either have been erected in very early times, before the

* THE inscription is as follows,

EDWINUS SANDYS sacre theologie Doctor, postquam Wigorniensem episcopat. xi annos, totidemque tribus demptis Londinensem gessisset; Eboracensis sui Archiepiscopatus anno xv, vitæ autem lxix, obiit Julii x, anno Dom. 1588.

CUJUS hic conditum cadaver jacet. Genere non humilis, vixit dignitate locoque magnus; exemplo major; duplici functus episcopatu, archiepiscopali tandem amplitudine etiam illustris: honores hosce mercatus grandi pretio, meritis virtutibusque. Homo hominum a malitia & vindicta innocentissimus, magnanimus, apertus, & tantum nescius adulari; summè liberalis atque misericors, hospitalissimus. Optimus, facilis, & in sola vitia superbus: scilicet haud minora quam loquutus est vixit, & fuit. In evangelii prædicandi laboribus ad extremum usque halitum mirabiliter assiduus, a sermonibus ejus nunquam non melior discederes. Facundus volebat esse, & videbatur. Ignavos, scdilitatis suæ conscius, oderat. Bonas literas auxit pro facultatibus: ecclesiæ patrimonium, velut rem Deo sacratam decuit, intactum defendit: gratia qua floruit apud illustrissimam mortalium Elizabetham effecit, ne hanc in qua jaces ecclesiam tu jacentem cerneres venerande præsul. Utriusque memorandum fortunæ exemplar, qui tanta cum gesseris, multo his majora animo ad omnia semper impavido perpessus est. Carceres, exilia, amplissimarum facultatum amissiones, quodque omnium difficilimum, innocens perferre animus consuevit immanes calumnias; et hac re una votis minor, quod christo testimonium. etiam sanguine non præbueris. Attamen qui in prosperis tantos fluctus, & post agonum tot adversa, tandem quietis sempiternæ portum, fessus mundi, dei que sitiens reperisti. Æternum lætare, vice sanguinis sunt sudores tui. Abi lector, nec ista scias tantum ut sciveris, sed ut immitere. Verbum Domini manet in æternum.

celibacy of the clergy was enjoined, or after the reformation. That it was not of that very early date, its appearance sufficiently testifies, if there were no other reason for rejecting such a supposition. We must look for a prelate, then, of the latter period, to whom we may reasonably attribute it. Robert Holgate, the first archbishop appointed to the see of York, after the reformation of Henry VIII, is the only person of that description, for whom it could be intended. The place of interment of every other Archbishop, since his time, is accounted for by the writers on the subject; but Holgate's never has been. All that is to be collected from them is, that he neither died, nor was buried, at York; and that the most diligent enquiries at the places of his birth, and of his connections, had not enabled them to discover the least memorial of his inhumation, nor even the exact period of his death. It is surmised, from the time of his will being proved, that he died during the reign of Queen Mary; when he was persecuted, imprisoned, and harassed by every species of vexation, that the bigotry and intolerant persuasion of the Queen could suggest. If it be designed for the tomb of a layman, all conjecture of the person must be fruitless*.

THE next monument I have occasion to notice, is that of the liberal William Talbot; whose name has been before recorded, for the accommodation his generosity afforded the vicars of the church in the year 1485. His death is commemorated by a small plain

* I have not now to learn that different opinions have been held on the subject of this monument, and that it has been the occasion of some controversy, in consequence of what was advanced respecting it, in the former edition of this work. To retract an opinion merely from deference to the celebrity of an antagonist, would be to subject me to the imputation of pusillanimity, as much as persisting in a convicted error would expose me to the charge of obstinacy. To avoid both, no small pains have been taken to compare this with other monuments of cotemporary antiquity, and no circumstance has resulted to occasion a deviation from the opinion heretofore delivered, that this monument was dedicated to the memory of a prelate, and that prelate no other than A. B. Holgate.

stone, at the foot of the stall appropriated to the prebendary of Oxtun prima pars, with the following short inscription.

HIC jacet Willelmus Talbot
Miser & indignus Sacerdos
Expectans resurrectionem
Mortuorum sub signo THAU.

IN the church yard, some few years ago, between the south door of the church and the registry, was an altar stone with these gingling verses round its margin:

ME pede quando teris homo qui mortem mediteris,
Sic contritus eris, et pro me quæro preceris.

OTHER CURIOSITIES.

THE Roman coins, which have, at different periods, been discovered within the precincts of this place, have been already noticed, beside which no inconsiderable number of English ones have been found, in pulling down old houses and in digging up old foundations. Those I have seen are mostly silver; two of them, about the size of a modern sixpence, of the coinage of Edward I, and II; one about the size of a modern silver penny, of which I can find no exact resemblance, but certainly coined before the reign of Henry V; one small one of Ph. & M. about the size of a silver threepence; some of James I, and some of Charles II. Several German coins have lately been found among the walls of the old vicarage: these are all of brass or copper, and of little or no value.

WHILE I am upon the subject of antiquities yet remaining in the parish of Southwell, I must not omit to mention three, to which this

volume is indebted for much of its information. These are the Registrum Album, or White Book; whose contents have been before described: the Thurgarton Manuscript, or Registrum Prioratûs de Thurgarton: and the Forest Books, as they are called; the two former in the possession of the chapter; one of the latter formerly my own, but now deposited in a public office*; and the other in that of Mr. Clay of Burrigge Hill, who is descended from William Clay of Southwell, appointed clerk of the forest court in the 15th of Charles II. Of the White Book it is unnecessary to add any thing more, after what has been already advanced.

THE Thurgarton Manuscript, or Registrum Prioratûs, is a book of much the same description as the former; and served the same purposes in the priory of Thurgarton, as that did to the college of Southwell. It contains an account of all the estates belonging to the monastery, with many of the instruments or deeds, by which they were granted. The following are the names of the places where the property of this house lay, in the order and words, in which I find them registered. To those towns, whose original names are become obsolete, are added, in a parenthesis, the modern appellation.

THURGARTON, Horspoll, Fiskarton, Morton, Rolleston, Gonerton, Bleseby, Kyrkelington, Egrum (Averham), Leverton, Scarcheclive, Pillesleya (Plesely), Elmeton, Boylston, Langwath, Sandeby, Croppehill, Wiverton, Tytheby; Dornethorpe (Danethorpe), Wodeburgh, Houton, Codington, Newerc, Stoke, Sibthorpe, Hokesworth, Aslacton, Flintham, Athelington (Ayleton or Elton), De Molendin. de Doverbeck, Saxendale, Shelford, Holm, Thurmeston, De Molendino de Snelling, De Passagio de Bridgeford, Hoveringham, Gonalston, Gunthorpe, Loudham de Eccelsiâ, Birton, Carleton, Suwell, Notting-

* OF the land revenue of the crown.

ham, Kirkeby, Sutton, Skeggeby, Corsale (Kersal), Ludham, Cotgrove, Keworthie, Wywell, Kynalton, Hyckeling, Langare, Berneston, Graneby, Bingham, Kirketon, Kercolston, De Molendino in Bathely, Onthorpe, Bathely, Starthorpe, Langethwayt (Langwath), Herneston, Braunceton, Haneworth, Timberlouud, Thorpe, Barton, Blaunkeny, Kirkeby, Skaupewyck, and Swaffield.

THIS was given to the chapter of Southwell, as is expressed on the cover of it, by Cecil Cooper of Thurgarton; at what time is not added, but this Cecil lived in the reign of Charles II.

THE Forest Book, late in my own possession, begins with the laws of Henry III, for the government of the forest of Shirewood; and, with some interruptions, records the claims and other transactions of the forest court, to the time of Queen Elizabeth. The last article is a perambulation (directed by her writ) which, being similar to one in the reign of Charles II, before inserted, I have omitted. There are a great number of curious instruments contained in this book, too long, and too numerous, for insertion here; beside that they would induce too considerable a digression from the immediate subject of our enquiry. One, however, I have selected for the very great singularity, I had almost said absurdity, of its contents.

“THE sentence of curseinge given upon the trespassers of the liberties of holie church, and namely of the liberties contained in the pointes of the great chartre of our Lord the Kinge, and of the chartre of the floreste to his freemen grainted in the said chartre.

IN the year of our Lord God, MCCLij, the third idus of May, in the great hall of Westm^r. of our Lord the Kynge, in theconsente and by the assente of noble Lord Kynge Henry, kynge of England, and

of Lordes W. earl of Cornewall, and of S. earl of Norfolke and Southfolke, and Marshall of England, H. earl of Oxeford, and I earl of Warwick, and other estates of the realm of England, and by the sufferance of God, the Archbushop of Canterbury, Primate of England, F. bushop of London, H. bushop of Elye, R. bushop of Lincolne, &c. arrayed with our pontificalls, with candles burning in our hands, solempnly declare, the sentence of curseinge on all trespassors and breakers of the liberties of the church, or of any other custome of the realme of England, and in-espéciall of the liberties and customes of our Lord the Kynge of his great chartre of the fforeste, in form that followeth, &c. viz.

By the authoritie of the Father and the Sonne and Holy Ghost, and of the blessed Virgin St. Mary, and of the apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the apostles, and of all martyrs, and of St. Edward the confessor, and of all the confessors, and of all the virgins, and of all the saints of God, we accurse, and from the liberties of holie church we sequester and depart all those that from henceforth willingly and maliciously holie church depriven or spoilen of her rights, also all those that the liberties of the church, and also the liberties and free customes of the great chartres, and of the chartre of the fforeste conteyned, granted by our Lord the Kinge, to all Archbushops, and to all other prelates of England, to Earls, Barons, Knights, and free tenants, by any matter, craft, or engin, defile or breake, diminishe or change, privy or aperte, in deede or in worde, or in counsell against them, or any of them, in any point. Also all them that against the same liberties, or any of them, any statutes make, or such statutes made, keep or bring in, or such statutes brought in, keep the writers of such statutes, and moreover the counsellors and executors of the same, and those that after them presume to deeme all those, and each one of them, above-rehearsed, know they

themselfe in that deed, that they wittingly doe in the premises so enter into this sentence. And all those that ignorantly be fallen, or do any thing, or hurte, in the said premises, and therefore be admonished; but yet thereby within fifteen days after the time of the monition to them had themselfe not correcte, and by the arbitrement, of the ordinary of the trespasses done make satisfaccord, from thenceforth in this sentence they be involved. Also wee bind and knitt in the same sentence, all them that the year of our Lord the Kinge, and of the realme, presume to trouble. In wittnes of the which thinge to everlastinge remembrance, to endure to this assente, wee have put our signes.”

THE other book of this kind in the hands of Mr. Clay, is a manuscript of the same sort as the former. Its title is thus set forth, in the first page, in capital letters.

PLACITA Forestæ Domini regis de Sherwood tent. apud Mansfield in comitatu Nott. vicesimo quinto die Februarii, anno regni Domini nostri, Caroli secundi, Dei gratiâ, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ, Regis, Fidei defensoris, &c. Quinto decimo coram Will^o. Marchione Newcastle, &c. Justiciario Itineran. omnium Forestarum ultra Trentam.

IN this book are the claims of all the parishes contiguous to the forest, of right of common upon it; as well as those of many individuals. This collection has, more than once, been received as evidence, in cases where the limits of the forest, or the rights of commoning upon it, have been litigated.

SEVERAL loose papers are inserted at one end of this book; among the rest are the two following. The first is here inserted for its

curiosity to those who live on the limits of the forest, and know its present nakedness; the latter, merely because it stamps authenticity on the volume which contains the collection.

THE title of the first is, "Bosci Dmi. Regis in Forestâ de Shirewood, 30th Henry VIII.

"1 ANNESLEY, 2 Bistorp, 3 Bulcot, 4 Calverton, 5 Carberton; 6 Clumber, 7 Eperston, 8 Dalesforth, 9 Everingham, 10 Edwinstow, 11 Fulwood, 12 Keydale, 13 Kirkeby, 14 Loudham, 15 Mansfield, 16 Mansfield Woodhouse, 17 Nottingham, 18 Ollerton, 19 Rufford, 20 Southwood, 21 Sampson's Wood, 22 Snaynton, 23 Sutton Wood, 24 Wathow.

"NOTA; Placita Forestæ coram Radulpho Nevil & al. 8 Edw. III; 1333. Coram Willo. Vessey & al. 15 Edw. I, 1286. Coram Matthew Boynton, 30 Hen. VIII. Coram W. Hutton and Brian Lascelles, 41 Eliz".

THE second-paper contains a letter, the superscription of which is, "For Mr. W^m. Clay, att Southwell". The contents are as follow. "Good Mr. Clay, Yesterday Mr. Chadwicke, steward of the forest, moved my Lord that he might have your assistance in quality of clerke of the office for keeping the records, and that his Lordship would order mee to write to you, to signify to you his Lordship's desire therein; and withall, that you would, as soon as you could, repaire to Mr. Steward, at Nottingham, and consult with him concerning the same. And so having obeyed his Excellencies comands, I present my service to you, and remaine.

Y^r assured friend to

love and serve you,

Welbecke, 5 No^{bris}.

JO. ROLLESTON".

1662.

THE transactions in this book, we have seen, begin with the year 1662. They end with the year 1684. The last articles recorded in it are "Licences granted, at a forest court holden at Bledeworth, before William Stanhope, Knight, Charles Stanhope, Esquire, and John Truman, Gentleman, verdurers of the Forest, to the Greave of the manor of Southwell, belonging to the Archbishop of York, to fell a fee tree, for the execution of his office, in any of his Grace's woods within the Forest".

RINGS and other small ornaments have at different times been found in digging graves in the church, and church yard.

IN the year 1780, the sexton, in digging a grave in the church yard, found a gold ring of an extraordinary size and kind.

IT is of the purest gold, and weighs nine pennyweights and six grains. It is six eighths of an inch in diameter, and three eighths of an inch in breadth. On the outside plain, but swelling like the swelling freize, finished at each edge by a very small line or rim. On the inside is the following inscription in characters very distinct, deep, and not inelegantly cut.

♣ MIEV + MOVRI + QUE + CHANGE + MA + FOY +

THE cross at the beginning is of the same size with the letters, that between the words is very small.

THE general opinion seems to be, that it has belonged to one of the Knights hospitallers of Winckburne, of whom a more particular account will be given hereafter. It is believed that many of this society were buried at Southwell, and the motto on the ring seems to favor the conjecture of this being one of them.

ANTIQUITIES
IN THE
NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SOUTHWELL.

—(O)—

ANCIENT ENCAMPMENTS.

HEXGRAVE PARK, before noticed as a part of the archiepiscopal demesne, furnishes one of the curiosities of this neighbourhood, the antiquity of which claims some discussion. It presents the remains of an ancient encampment of considerable size and consequence, which never till lately found a place in any publication. The annexed engraving will afford a better idea of its shape, size, and design, than words can possibly convey; to that, therefore, I must refer for a *general* plan of this encampment, premising only, that the lines are intended to represent mere ditches or fosses. The ground, which is surrounded by the principal foss, rises very gradually from every part of the circumference to the center; but the whole elevation, within the trench, does not appear to be more than would be formed by the soil dug up in order to make the ditches. The situation of this curiosity is as follows: about four miles north west of Southwell; in no high road to any place that is, or is believed to have been, in any respect famous; no town near to it, except the little village of Kirklington; which neither from its name, or history, or distance, we can form any reason for supposing can have been an appendage to,

or a consequence of, the camp itself. This I notice here, for a reason to which it will be applied hereafter. On the north is a continued ridge of high hills; on the south a very extensive morass; to the west, and east, a level country.

THE first enquiry, which will be expected from me, is—by what people this encampment was made? The opinion of the country has attributed it to the Romans*: that opinion I am inclined to think erroneous, and, therefore, shall proceed to combat first. In doing this, it should be previously examined, whether there be any part, even a single syllable, of its ancient name, which can lead to a discovery of its origin. That, under which it first appears in the *Registrum Album*, is *Bokkesgrave*.

It is almost unnecessary to observe, that in this name there is nothing Roman. Supposing it to be Saxon, there is nothing in it that signifies camp or station†. This remark is material in its appli-

* IN the correspondence of Sir George Young and Major Rooke, already referred to on more than one occasion, in *Archæol.* v. 9, the latter writer (after noticing what I had formerly written on this subject), in the most candid manner, combats my opinion, and contends that this, as well as the *Combs*, was a fortification of Roman construction. Of the *Combs* I take further notice in its proper place; of *Hexgrave*, I am under the necessity of saying, though with the greatest deference to the learning, the industry, and the talents, of that most respectable antiquary, that I cannot retract my opinion. Additional observation has confirmed me in the doctrine I advanced, viz. that no encampments which have been ascertained to be Roman, are of the anomalous shape which this presents: further investigation has convinced me that none such were surrounded by outworks of the sort that are here described: diligent enquiry has enabled me to ascertain that no materials for building, no weapons for fighting, no trinkets for ornament, no urns for inhumation, no coins for traffick; in short no conveniences for the living, nor any monuments or records of the dead, have ever been discovered here, though much pains in that way have been taken; a circumstance, which, I believe, I may venture to assert, is exclusively the distinction of *Hexgrave* from all other Roman encampments, if indeed it be a Roman one.

† OF a contrary opinion, however, I should observe, appears a great authority, whom I have before had occasion to cite upon Saxon etymology, Sir Richard Sutton, Bart. In the correspondence with that gentleman, mentioned in a former page of this work, he observes on the subject of

cation. Few of the places, which were Roman stations in this island, retain any large portion of their Roman appellations; indeed but few of them ever were so distinguished, even in the time of the Romans themselves. It has been observed, by a celebrated modern writer, (whom I shall very soon have occasion to cite more at large) that the Romans, when they fixed their stations in this island, generally adopted the name of places imposed by the vanquished people; at least, that few others ever became current among the Britons, or survived the Roman government. The Saxons certainly took possession of the Roman fortresses, and improved them. This people, with a barbarous language, intelligible only among themselves, ingrafted it on that, which they found already established. By these means a common medium of mutual intercourse, among the three distinctions of men who inhabited the island, was discovered; and the Britons, the few remaining Romans or Romanized Britons, and the Saxons, united in composing a language, which might be intelligible to all three*. The names of all those towns, which were Roman, and afterwards Saxon, stations, are proofs of this position. All those whose terminations are *caster*, or *chester*, or *cester* (varied only by the pronunciation of the different tribes of Saxons who came over) are so many rude imitations, rather than translations, of the Roman word *castrum*; to which is generally prefixed some British, or Saxon, syllable, denoting the wetness, or the dryness, or the hardness, or some other charac-

Hexgrave, that he conceives it to be derived from "Haxe, signifying in German, a witch, and grabin, an entrenchment, anglicised by the word grave". Had the earliest accounts of this place favored this orthography, much respect would have been due to this suggestion, as it would have received strong confirmation from the ancient name of Hexham (Hagulstadt) and many other places, to which the strong superstition of the Saxons had affixed similar appellations.

* NEITHER is this position admitted by the last mentioned authority. "There can be little doubt" says he "but the Saxons possessed the whole country unmixed with the Britons, whom they completely drove out into Wales, Cornwall, Cumberland, and Scotland. Their language prevailed *unmixed*. As late as King Stephen's time, the chronicle containing part of his reign is written in pure Saxon or English, with not one foreign word in five hundred. To this day almost all our words of agriculture and country life; trees, plants, animals, trades, tools, indeed almost all names of *things*, (not passions or sciences) are pure German".

teristic quality, of the particular soil or situation. Tiovulfingacester, the name, under which the principal subject of enquiry in these sheets passed, at that period, bears testimony to the truth of the observation; only that, in this, the prefixed syllables are commemorative of an event, and not descriptive of a situation. In the southern counties the names of Box-grove, Box-holt, and Box-wood, occur; and in one instance, at least, of these, the number of box trees, yet remaining, point out the obvious etymology; but as that, which swims on the surface, is seldom so much valued, as that, for which we dive into the deep, let us examine somewhat further; and whether we consider the termination, *grave*, upon the authority of the learned editor of Camden, as a mere corruption of *grove*, or derive it from the Saxon word *grafe*, signifying properly a ditch; we shall not, in either way of interpreting it, have any foundation for conjecturing this encampment to have been Roman*. Let us now advert to the other distinguishing marks of a Roman camp.

IN the first place, I believe, there are very few, which are absolutely ascertained to be of Roman original, to which some road or causeway is not to be discovered. The utmost industry has not led to the discovery of any thing of the kind in the vicinity of this. Whitaker, in his history of Manchester, treating of the Roman stations, writes, "The only determinate characteristick of a Roman station, which is either the appellation of chester affixed to the place, or the concurrence of Roman roads at the point, has never yet been

* If, indeed, the observations which have been lately noticed, carry sufficient weight to induce a belief of this encampment, having been Saxon, upon the authority of the foregoing reasoning, it may also have previously belonged to the Romans; not that such would necessarily be the conclusion; for, though it is admitted that the Saxons frequently took advantage of the earlier labors of their predecessors, there cannot exist a doubt but that many of their encampments and fortified stations were original.

“sufficiently attended to by the antiquarian critick. For want of such a decisive standard, the mind has been left to brood fondly over its own ungrounded ideas, and to multiply stations at the random suggestions of fancy”.

THERE are three other material considerations, which militate against the title of Hexgrave to the credit of a Roman origin. First, the shape or figure, which the encampment itself presents; secondly, the materials of which it is composed; and thirdly, its situation.

IT would be injustice to the author, certainly impolitic to myself, to convey the sentiments of the writer I have so lately quoted, in any other language, than that elegant one he himself uses.

SPEAKING of the general construction of the Roman camps, Mr. Whitaker writes thus:

“THE whole figure of the castrum was an irregular parallelogram. The parallel sides were equally right lines and equally long; but the corners were rounded. The Romans particularly affected the parallelogram in the configuration of their camps. And they esteemed those the most beautiful of the sort, which were just by one-third longer than they were broad: but they seldom rounded the angles of such camps”.

IF we are to presume that this writer’s judgment is as decisive, as his investigations are ingenious, or his reputation established, it remains only, on this part of the subject, to be observed, that every opinion, and every information, tends to prove, that the Roman camps were all of, at least, some *regular* shape; circular, elliptical, or parallelogrammic; and that this at Hexgrave, so far from being

any one of these, does not present any figure sufficiently uniform to have even a name*.

THE extremities of the fosses belonging to the outworks, and the banks contiguous to them, have, in the course of cultivation, of late years, been ploughed up. No adventitious materials appear; not the smallest remnant of a wall, or any artificial fortification, beyond what was constructed by hollowing out a trench, and raising a bank. The camps of the Romans, I apprehend, were not so simple and inartificial.

THE third and last objection arises from the situation. The camps of the Romans, which were afterwards possessed by the Saxons, were always accompanied by a town of greater, or less, extent; none of which are any where so absolutely destroyed, but that the scites, at least, are visible. None such appears here. But this is not all. The favorite authority, to which I have already so often appealed, must again decide between me and popular opinion.

SPEAKING of one of the stations in the vicinity of Manchester, which had first belonged to the Britons (as most of the Roman stations had done; every succession of masters, whom this country admitted, taking advantage of those works their predecessors had constructed) he says,

“ The principal inducement must have been one, of which the Britons could not easily have been suspected, but upon which they

*THE current of authorities is so uniformly in favor of my observation, on this part of my subject, from the date of Cæsar's Commentaries, even to the very last discoveries that have been made respecting Roman encampments, that it appears unnecessary to press the point any further. Vid. Wilkins's Essay. Archæol, Tom. 12.

“appear to have very frequently acted. Most of the British fortresses appear to have had such a peculiar scite selected for them as the coldness of our climate required; one that by its position on the northern bank of the river, and its gentle declivity to the south or its collateral points, would give the Britons the whole undiminished reflected warmth of our British suns. And such are almost all the British fortresses mentioned in the itinerary of Antoninus. Surrounded as the British fortresses must constantly have been with the over-hovering damps of the neighbouring woods, such a position was naturally dictated by prudence”.

It is enough to observe of this, that it is, in almost every respect, the reverse of that here described. The greatest declivity and the most comprehensive outworks are toward the north: the principal water, indeed, on the south; but that water of such a kind, and so nearly on a level with the camp, that the vapors exhaled from it must have been as unpleasant, as they were unwholesome.

If Hexgrave camp *must* be attributed to Saxon contrivance, it can only be to the Saxons of the Mercian kingdom, during the heptarchy; when, no doubt, they constructed many fortifications on new and original foundations, where the Romans had never exercised their ingenuity. Of this kind is Collingham: in speaking of which, Dr. Stukely takes occasion to remark, that to these Saxons a large supply of water was the principal recommendation, in the choice of their encampments; while, on the other hand, their enemies, the Danes, chose the driest situations they could find. If this distinction be characteristic of the two nations, we can have no doubt to which of them, if to either, Hexgrave camp is to be attributed; since the morass on the south is of, at least, one hundred acres extent, and has all the appearance of having once been entirely covered with water. But, after all, neither its size, nor strength, nor situation, carry to my

conviction the requisites of a permanent camp; as most of those belonging to any of the people, who have been already mentioned, generally were. Theirs were not the camps of a few hostile troops marching through an enemy's territory, but of bands or legions continuing to protect their own; they were permanent stations, regularly fortified, considerable in extent, and surrounded by all those accommodations of a country, which are necessary to the health and pleasure of a numerous army. Considering this only as a mere temporary entrenchment, made for present protection, not for permanent security, I would look to some other period, and a different people, for its construction. The first which suggests itself, is the reign of King John. Those counties which had composed the Mercian kingdom were the principal theatre of this monarch's troubles and achievements; and the most eventful scene of them lay between Northampton and Lincoln. I cannot, under these circumstances, but surmise, that Hexgrave Park is more likely to have been the temporary asylum of John and his army, or of his competitors, than a station of the Britons, Romans, Saxons, or Danes*.

By the appearance, which the *outworks* present, of a very improved state of fortification, this encampment has been thought by some to bear the impression of more modern times: the reign of Charles I, (in which, as well the royal, as the parliament forces, were so much in the county of Nottingham) naturally enough offered itself, as the period, from which we might reasonably date the formation of these works. Fortification is a science, of which few know enough to

* THIS conjecture, though first made in the former edition of this work, has received a most unexpected and extraordinary confirmation very lately. In cutting down some oak trees near this spot, the initials of King John's name, surmounted with that peculiar sort of blunt radiated crown, which that monarch is supposed to have worn, have been discovered cut in the solid wood, over which the bark and sap had grown to the thickness of several inches. Vid. Rooke's Sketch of Sherwood Forest.

judge of its progress, and thereby to appropriate appearances; but, it should seem as if this camp could not have been situated where it is since the introduction of cannon, from the circumstance of its being entirely overlooked and commanded by the Kirklington hills.

To what has been advanced on the subject of ancient camps, and the distinguishing properties of those respectively belonging to the people before mentioned, let me add a conjecture, which is the mere result of observation, unaided by authority. The Romans (probably the Britons before them) and the Saxons, seem to have been always strongly impressed with the idea of rotundity, or, at least, of perfect uniformity and regularity. The observation applies to all the remains we see of their designs, whether we take architecture in general, or ichnography in particular. Their camps, their places of worship, and of pleasure, were circular, semicircular, elliptical, or some modification of square; either perfect square, or oblong square. All the variety which their plans present, arises from some little diversification of the square, and the circle. The larger places of worship (I mean the ichnography of them) *before* the introduction of christianity, were generally one spacious oblong square; *after* that event, usually a complete square in the center, with four oblong squares annexed, one to each of the four sides, altogether forming a cross; and in very early times, a semicircular termination to the east; sometimes perhaps, to the west also. Their smaller places of devotion were mostly either very little differing from a perfect square, or a perfect circle. Their theatres and places of amusement were mostly of the latter form. Many instances of these still remain in different parts of the world, and not a few even in this kingdom. It has been the fashion of very late years to give the credit of most of our circular buildings to the Danes: and, undoubtedly, in some instances, such a designation may be well adopted; but, if the continual state of anarchy and warfare,

in which the kingdom was involved, during the Danish usurpation, be considered, I incline to think there will be but little room for supposing the arts of peace could be very frequently, or very extensively, cultivated; and especially one so elegant in its nature, so laborious in its exercise, and so tedious in its execution, as the science of architecture. Sufficient has already been said of their camps, to evince the truth of the general position, when applied to *them*. The observation appears to hold good also in the inferior features of all their fabricks; not only the windows of their buildings were circles, or some portion of a circle superadded to a portion of a square, but their bridges were raised on circular arches, their aqueducts were hollow cylinders, their columns were solid ones, and the ornaments of all of them were sections of globes, cylinders, and cones. If a solitary angle sometimes appeared, it was always an obtuse one. I am here speaking of ornaments which were suggested by fancy only, and were not the representations of natural productions. After the Norman conquest a very contrary taste began to prevail; a taste that received its completion in that specimen of architecture, which is denominated gothic. The infancy of this style is to be discovered in the mere ornaments of capitals, parapets, and water tables; where triangle follows triangle, in perpetual succession, and forms the zigzag. Soon after this, arches became pointed, and platforms angular. Churches, chapels, theatres, fortresses, and camps, ere long, presented pentagons, hexagons, heptagons, or octagons; in short, all figures but squares, and circles.

THE application of this doctrine to the subject of enquiry, in the few preceding pages, needs no illustration.

THE Combes, a place so called, on another part of the archiepiscopal demesne in the neighbourhood of Southwell, furnishes a curiosity of a

similar kind to that last mentioned. This place lies about four miles west from Southwell, and not quite so much south from the encampment at Hexgrave. About three acres of ground are enclosed by a foss, in a form nearly elliptical; and in the situation, with respect to one extremity of this, as described in the engraving, is a circular ditch, of the dimensions there expressed. *Comb* is, certainly, of Saxon derivation, signifying just what this place presents, a hollow or trench, with an elevation or protuberance on each side; but it would be too much, perhaps, on the authority of such a coincidence, to decide on the origin of the works so denominated. In the beginning of the last century, several spears and missile weapons are said to have been discovered on digging in these entrenchments, but none of them are now forthcoming, nor can any such account of them be now procured as may enable us at this day to appropriate them.

SOME few years since two small instruments of war, resembling battle axes, but of very diminutive size, were found near this spot about two feet under ground, some idea of which may be collected from the annexed engraving. These two curiosities differed from each other in size; one being three inches long, and one broad at the edge, the other six inches long and two broad. They are evidently made of copper, and cast in a mould. When discovered, they appeared to be buried in a bed of ashes*.

RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

THURGARTON PRIORY demands the first place, as having been very near in respect of situation, and intimately connected in property

* THE same course of argument, from which it has here been inferred that Hexgrave was not a Roman encampment, leads in this case to an opposite conclusion; even though it should be capable of demonstration, that the Saxons afterwards took advantage of the labors of their

and interest with the church of Southwell. The history of this place, as far as it is necessary for our present purpose, is given in the Thurgarton register, deposited, as already observed, in the library of Southwell college. We are there informed, that this monastery was founded by Ralph de Ayncourt, in the reign of Henry I, for the safety of his soul, and of his sons and daughters, and of his father and mother, and Basilia his wife, or woman, (mulier) and of all his parents or ancestors; that it was of the order of St. Augustine, and dedicated to St. Peter; that it was founded at the request and instigation of Thurstan, archbishop of York; and that it was endowed with all Thurgarton and Fiskerton, the park by Thurgarton, the churches of Granby, Cotes, Swaffield, Haneworth, Scaupewick, Kirkeby, Braunceton, Timberland; Blaunkeney, Elmeton, and Langwath, being in the counties of Nottingham, Derby, and Lincoln. The witnesses of this instrument are the chapter of St. Mary of Southwell, Robert Fitz-Hubert, &c. Tanner, making mention of Thurgarton, in his *Notitia Monastica*, has this remark. “Thoroton in his History of Nottinghamshire says, this monastery was founded “temp. Henry I (viz. 1130) and about the latter end of that reign “possibly it might, though the charter of foundation in the monasticon seems to have been made after the year 1144, because it “mentions Thurstan, archbishop of York, as dead, *piæ memoriæ*.”

It is plain, by this, Tanner has fallen into the current mistake; for the necessary implication from his words is, that Thurstan did not die till 1144; whereas, from the authorities mentioned in a former page, it is clear he died in 1140. But, be this as it may, he is certainly mistaken with respect to the principal fact, viz. that this monastery was not founded in the life-time of Thurstan. The predecessors, and that either in the name of the place, or in the instruments of war which have been found, some remains of Saxon appropriation should be discovered. Vid. Map. Part 1st. and the observations thereon.

trary is to be collected from the register itself, the common source of information to both of us. The first entries in that book (which fill about half of it) are terriers of the estates belonging to the society, under the name of *Chartæ foundationis*. Next follow *Regum chartæ confirmationis*; then *Episcopalia*, as they are there styled, which are the *Concessionones Episcoporum*. Now the first *Regis confirmatio* is evidently of Henry I, for he writes himself “Henricus Dei Gratia” only. If it had been any of his successors of the same name, he would have been distinguished by the addition of *secundus*, or *tertius*, &c. in conformity with all practice on similar occasions. This circumstance sufficiently evidences the date of the foundation to be prior to Thurstan’s death, which did not happen till five years after Henry’s. But beside this, the *Episcopalia* furnish another very strong argument. The five first begin thus— 1. T. Dei gratiâ Archiep.— 2. R. Dei gratiâ Archiep.— 3 & 4. G. Dei gratiâ Archiep.— 5. Walterus, Dei gratiâ Archiep.—Walterus, being at full length, leaves no doubt but the author was Walter Grey, A. B. in the reign of King John. If we look back to the reign of Henry I, we shall find the initials before-mentioned, as exactly answering to the order of the Archbishops of York from Thurstan to Walter, as to that, in which their respective charters stand in the register. Thurstanus, (Henricus no charter, Gulielmus none) Rogerus, Galfridus, Walterus.— The only difficulty then arises from the words *piæ memoriæ*, in the founder’s charter. Perhaps they may bear a different interpretation from that put upon them by Tanner, or they may not have been in the original instrument, but only introduced by the transcriber at the time of insertion in the Register, after Thurstan’s death. The words are these. “Ego Rad. De Ayncourt pro salute animæ meæ, filiorum
“ & filiarum, & pro animabus patris & matris, & pro animâ Basilie
“ mulieris meæ, & omnium parentum & antecessorum, fundavi
“ domum religionis apud Thurgarton, & in ejusdem fundatione con-

“cessi & dedi Canonicis ibidem Deo, & Beato Paulo regularitè
 “servientibus, consilio & admonitione Thurstani, *piæ memoria*, &c.
 “in liberam & perpetuam eleemosynam totam Thurgatonam &
 “Fiskertonam, &c. & omnes ecclesias de totâ terrâ meâ, scilicet
 “Granby, &c. &c.”

“Si verò hæres meus illam cum libertatibus suis manu tenuerit &
 “sustentaverit, Divinam gratiam et paternam benedictionem ei in
 “eternum relinquo. Sin autem Dei iram & meam maledictionem,
 “nisi resipuerit, incurrat. Test. Capit: De Suthwell, R. F. &c.”

KING Henry II confirmed to this house all the gifts of their founder and other benefactors, with many new privileges, and forty additional acres of land. He also commanded the sheriff of Nottinghamshire to see “that the canons of Thurgarton held their mills on the river Trent peaceably, and without lett or molestation from the men of the soc of Dunham.” Many succeeding kings either granted them new property and new privileges, or confirmed the old, particularly Henry III, and Edward III. In 1352, the abbey of St. Mary, at York, agreed to take of the priory of Thurgarton ten marks yearly, for their portion of tithes in Granby, and some other neighbouring places. All these grants and instruments are still to be found in the register before mentioned, with many others of various kinds; some with, but more without, dates.

THE prior of Thurgarton claimed a right to a seat in the church of Southwell, above the heads of the canons, which was allowed him, though it does not appear at what period. The seat still remains, and retains its original name of *the prior of Thurgarton's seat*.

THE second day in Christmas, it was the custom for all the tenants of the convent to pay a certain number of cocks and hens,

for which, it appears, they were regaled in the great hall with a sumptuous feast. Those who came not to the feast, had a demand of a white loaf and a bucket, or flaggon, of beer, as also one mess from the kitchen. Whenever a niece (or female villain) took a husband, or committed fornication, she was obliged to give a fee of five shillings and fourpence to the convent, for the redemption of her blood; the daughter of one renting a cottage gave but half as much.

IN the church of this monastery, which was dedicated to St. Peter, were many chauntries founded at different periods, but principally about the reign of Henry VI.

IN 1328, this house was valued at twenty marks per annum, beside mills, woods, capons, and rents of assize. At the dissolution it was valued at two hundred and fifty-nine pounds nine shillings and fourpence. The priory of Thurgarton, with a considerable portion of its lands, was granted, in 30th Henry VIII, to one William Cooper and Cecilia his wife*: from them it has descended, through several generations, to its present proprietor, John Gilbert Cooper, Esquire. Such part of the monastery's possessions, as were not given to William Cooper, Henry granted to his new foundation of Trinity college, Cambridge. These lands have generally been holden by the family of Cooper, under a lease from the college, and remained in their possession till October 1794, when they were sold to Sir Richard Sutton of Norwood, Bart.

THE present representative of the Cooper family, preferring modern convenience to ancient grandeur, pulled down the old priory a few years since, and, on its scite, built a large brick house. Among other parts of the monastery, which might have stood for

centuries to come, the monument of this society's splendor, was a kitchen, vast and magnificent, almost beyond parallel or comparison. The other parts of the house were not curious, and certainly were inconvenient, according to those ideas of accommodation, which modern fashions have taught us to adopt. The demolition, therefore, of those might have been expected; but an antiquary must be allowed to lament the false taste, which dictated the destruction of so noble a monument of ancient grandeur, as this kitchen presented; and the more so, when he happens to know that the person, under whose directions it was perpetrated, is, in general, only outdone in the elegance of his taste, by the excellence of his hospitality*.

RUFFORD.

RUFFORD was another of the religious houses in the vicinity of Southwell. It was of the order of Cistercians, and founded by Gilbert de Gaunt, grandson of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, who was brother to William the Conqueror, in the year 1148. This endowment, with many grants and confirmations, is to be found in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*; but as my purpose ought principally to be that of recording what is not to be commonly met with, I shall refer, for authority, to an ancient translation of an instrument, not to be found in the *Monasticon*†.

It appears by Dugdale, that the other principal contributors to the wealth to this house, were Hugh, the son of Ralph Wilikeby; Thomas, son-in-law of Robert Filiol; John Burdon; Thomas de Bella Aqua; Avicia, daughter of Amicia de Stoke; and Gilbert de Stoke.

* It has indeed been said that the kitchen, though large and of uncommon construction, was of too recent a date to be a curiosity as a piece of antiquity. It might perhaps be modern when compared with some other parts of the monastery, but its size, its construction, and its architecture were demonstrations of its monastic origin. Its antiquity therefore was sufficient to render it venerable, without threatening its decay.

† *VID. App. No. 27.*

HENRY VIII, by letters patent, bearing date the twenty ninth year of his reign, granted all the lands, &c. with their appurtenances, to the monastery of Rufford belonging, valued at one hundred and seventy-six pounds eleven shillings and sixpence per annum, to George, earl of Shrewsbury. This George had a son George, who left a daughter Mary, married to Sir George Saville of Barrowby in Lincolnshire, from whom this place descended, through several generations, to the late Baronet Sir George Saville; who, dying in 1784, bequeathed his estates to the second son of his sister, the wife of the Earl of Scarborough; and he has, out of respect to his benefactor, taken the name of Saville. The old monastery is partly remaining, but swallowed up in those additions, which constitute the principal part of the present house.

WINCKBURNE.

WINCKBURNE was the seat of another religious society of great antiquity, knights hospitallers, or knights of St. John of Jerusalem. We are told by Dugdale, "that one Adam Tyson gave the town of Winckburne to these knights soon after the institution of their order." Henry Hosatus gave them also the churches of Winckburne and Egrom, which grant was confirmed by King John. History relates, that this military order, from being very poor, and instituted for the mere protection of pilgrims travelling to the holy city, became in a short time exceedingly rich, and particularly in England, where they had several establishments: their grand house was in London, built about the year 1100. The principal of their order is said to have been the first Lay- Baron in England, and to have had his seat, as such, among the Lords of parliament. It appears by a grant of this manor and church of Winckburne, in the reign of Edward VI, that it had been appendant to, or parcel of, the preceptory or commandery of Newland in Yorkshire. Edward's grant,

which is still among the title deeds of the family to whom it was made, and bears date the second year of his reign, conveys “to William Burnell and Constance his wife, in lieu of the rectory, &c. of Beachworth in the county of Surry, which they had surrendered to Henry VIII, the manor, rectory, and church of Winckburne in the county of Nottingham, as part of the commandery of Newland in the county of York, belonging to the priory or hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, to hold the said premises, with all appurtenances, &c. in Winckburne and Maplebeck and the woods therein, by the fortieth part of a Knight’s fee, in as ample a manner as the late prior and the brethren of the said priory, or as the prior of the late priory of Kyme, or either of their predecessors had held by any authority whatsoever. The rectory of Maplebeck to be held of the manor of Southwell by fealty only”. There are no remains of the religious house now to be seen, for there has long been built, on the site of it, a spacious, modern, brick mansion.

IN the White Book of Southwell is an indenture, bearing date temp. James I, between the chapter of Southwell and William Burnell of Winckburne, whereby the chapter, “in consideration of one hundred marks, discharge the said William and his heirs of all arrears of a certain yearly pension of five marks, payable by the prior of Winckburne, to the parson of the church of Knesale, which the said parson was to enjoy, in lieu of certain tithes in Maplebeck, decreed in the twenty eighth of Henry VI, to belong to the church of Winckburne, appropriated to the said priory.”

THIS manor continued to be possessed by Lords of the name of Burnell, till the death of D’Arcy Burnell in 1772. He left it, by will, “to his heir at law”. Who was this heir at law was long the subject of litigation. The verdict of a jury has given the estate to two persons.

descended from female branches of the family of Burnell, one of the name of Pegge, the other of Bristowe. The former of these gentlemen is the survivor, has taken the name of Burnell, and preserves the ancient hospitality of the house.

MONUMENTS IN WINCKBURNE CHURCH.

ON a monument in the wall of the chancel, south of the altar, is the following inscription,

Quos Hymenæus Hymen lecto bene junget in uno,
 Cur non hos tumulo condidit una dies?
 Heu Deus ipse simul vetuit succumbere morti,
 Dum volet ille sequar; chare marite vale.

VIVE diu, fausteque, mihi charissima quondam,
 Nunc proli claræ vivita chara tuæ
 Te, tuosque, brevi felices spero videre
 Meeum cantantes carmina grata Deo.

LOWER down,

HERE lies William Burnell, Esquire, interr'd
 on whom th' almighty blessings greate conferr'd
 the welth he was possest of did he spend
 like a good steward to a lawful end.
 Of smaller meanes a greater house none kept
 so greate a tyme; few greate ones him outstept.
 He married of the Cordall's familie
 Elizabeth by name: had progenie
 sonnes: William, Edward, John, Lawrance, Thomas,

Fraunces and Robert, seaven their number was.
 Four daughters also, all of them made spouses
 before his death to men of worthy houses.
 Onc to a knight, to three 'squires th'other three
 to his greate comfort did he placed see.
 Elizabeth to Cave, knight; Dorotheie
 was married to an esquire Strelley ;
 to Markham, an esquire, Jane did he give,
 and unto Wombwell an esquire, Olive :
 he left remayning after him his wife
 and all these children when he left this life.
 Obiit 2 April mo. Dom. 1609, anno ætatis 61.

ON an elegant monument, north of the altar,

SACRED to the memory of
 D' Arcy Burnell, Esquire.

THIS monument is erected in testimony of her true affection
 By his disconsolate wife, Mary, sole daughter and heir
 of Rob. Pakey of the city of Lincoln, M. D.
 His virtues were those that gave a lustre to private life.
 The post of honour is the private station
 Which he truly adorn'd.
 As he was exemplery in every relation in life
 A good husband, kind master, and stanch friend
 and as a Son and Brother few ever did or will equal him
 He bore a long illness with true christian fortitude
 And died June 1, 1774,
 Aged 46 years.
 To the inexpressible grief and affliction
 of his disconsolate wife.

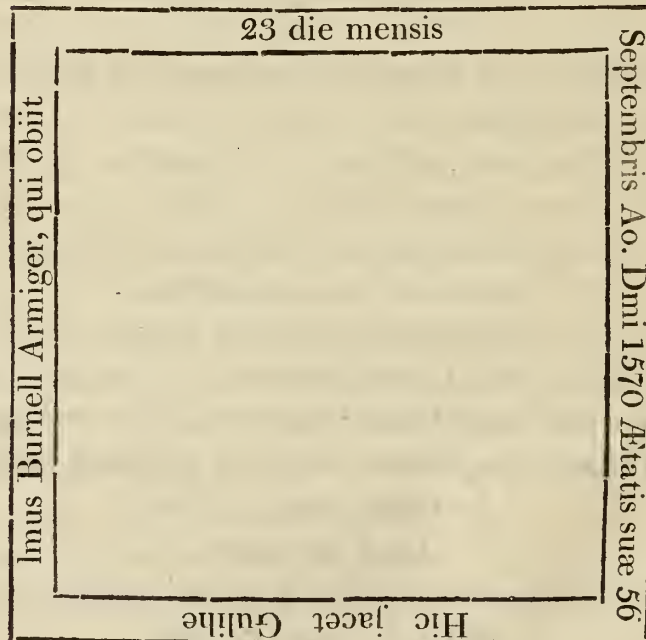
O Death, ere thou hast slain another
 Generous, just, and good as he,
 Time shall throw a dart at thee,

A Wit's a feather and a chief a rod,
 An honest Man's the noblest work of God.

POPE.

ON a mutilated tomb, south of the altar.

COMPRESIT hoc durum Burnelli * * * * *
 Inter cœlicolas mens sua sacra sed et profuit *
 Hic multis nulli nocuisse studebat illius * *
 Et cunctis sermo facetus erat, sumptibus et *
 OPRIIS opus * * fundavit apertum * * * * *
 LO condidit ille domum.



THERE are several other religious foundations in the county of Nottingham, whose vicinity to Southwell may seem to entitle them to a place in this work; but as the course of my enquiries, for the purpose of investigating the principal subject of discussion, has not furnished me with any intelligence respecting them, which has not been already communicated to the publick, I shall only mention them very generally; referring the reader, for more particular information to Dugdale, Tanner, Thoroton, and other writers of that description.

SHELFORD.

SHELFORD had a priory of canons regular of the order of Saint Austin, founded by Ralph Haunselin in the reign of Henry II. A dispute between the families of Bardolph and Everingham for the presentation to this priory is preserved by Dugdale, Thoroton, and other authors, and is as follows. By inquisition of the fourteenth of Edward II, it appeared, that it had been taken into examination before Hugh Bigot, justice of England, in the forty-second of Henry III, whether the priory of Shelford had been founded by the predecessors of William Bardolph, or those of Adam Everingham, both of them alledging that it had been founded by their respective ancestors, who had presented a prior. The prior was himself called, and asked which of them he claimed for his patron? To this he answered, he did not know; for that he held lands in fee of the predecessors of both the said William, and Adam; at the same time he produced several deeds, by which he held the said lands. One of them purported to be the deed of one Ralph Haunselin, predecessor of the said William Bardolph, by which he founded and endowed the priory of Shelford. Another deed under the name of Robert Calz, predecessor of the said Adam Everingham, testified that he had given to the monks of

Shelford, all the land of Shelford. He also produced another deed, shewing that the said Ralph Haunselin and Robert Calz had jointly endowed the priory with those possessions in fee. The jury found that the said priory had been founded by Ralph Haunselin, the predecessor of William Bardolph, and that, therefore, the said William was the true patron.

IN the Thurgarton register are several agreements between this priory of Shelford and that of Thurgarton, respecting the tithes of certain parishes, to which they were jointly entitled. In the same place is a grant of a way, from the brethren of Shelford to those of Thurgarton, over a meadow belonging to the former; the latter paying an annual acknowledgement of three shillings: also a quit claim of any share in the profits of Gunthorpe ferry. This monastery was considerable and possessed of great property, principally the gift of the family of the founder, and of those of Bardolf of Stoke, and Calz of Laxton. At the time of the dissolution, here were twelve canons, and their revenues were valued at one hundred and sixteen pounds per annum.

HENRY VIII, by letters patent, dated the twenty ninth year of his reign, granted the monastery of Shelford, with two hundred and fifty four acres of land, the advowsons of several churches, and all other appurtenances to the same belonging, to Michael Stanhope, Esquire, and Anne his wife, and the heirs male of Michael. This grant was enlarged by a subsequent one in the thirty first of Henry VIII, whereby the manor of Shelford, the advowsons of several other churches, and estates in no less than twenty parishes, are added to the former. Many of these still remain in the descendants of the first grantee, since that time ennobled by the earldom of Chesterfield.

THE priory had been converted into a dwelling-house, and continued to be the residence of some part of the Stanhope family, till the reign of Charles I. During the troubles of those times it was made a garrison for the King, under the command of Philip, son of the then Earl of Chesterfield, who lost his own, and the lives of a great many soldiers, in the defence of it. The parliamentarians took it by storm, Oct. 27, 1645, and burnt the greatest part of it to the ground. Out of its ruins a considerable house was built in the year 1678, which still remains, but presents nothing to arrest attention, or gratify curiosity.

The lordship of Shelford, with Newton and Saxendale annexed, is an exempt ecclesiastical jurisdiction, called a peculiar, where the probate of wills, and letters of administration of the personal property within the jurisdiction, are granted by the steward of the court.

FISKERTON.

FISKERTON has some claim to notice, as a religious foundation, though not of that magnitude or independence, as to deserve the name of a monastery. It seems, by the Thurgarton register, to have been a sort of cell to that priory. There was a chapel dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mother, with a provision for a certain number of priests, which owed its foundation to the same liberal hand, Ralph de Ayncourt. In the register are many grants of lands to this chapel by private persons, and of some privileges by Kings; among the rest, a fair and market in the manor of Fiskerton, by Henry III, in the fifty-fourth year of his reign. The manor of Fiskerton, with all its appurtenances, aforesaid belonging to the monastery of Thurgarton, were granted by Queen Elizabeth, in the fourth year of her reign, to Thomas Cooper, Esquire, and his heirs. It has long been sold by this family, and the different parts are now possessed by a great number of proprietors.

NEWSTEAD.

NEWSTEAD was a priory of the order of St. Austin, founded by Henry II. The house was built upon part of the waste land within the forest of Shirewood, and acquired, at its first erection, the name of the *New Stede* or *Place*. This monarch bestowed on the canons of Newstead the church and town of Papplewick, with a park, and a considerable quantity of arable land, to be taken out of the forest. King John confirmed all their privileges in the sixth year of his reign. Edward II enlarged their territories, and augmented their revenues.

HENRY VIII, by letters patent, dated May 28, in the thirty-second year of his reign, granted this priory, with its appurtenances, valued at one hundred and sixty-seven pounds sixteen shillings and eleven pence per annum, to Sir John Byron, in whose posterity it has continued ever since. A large house has been built on the scite of the old priory, but it is of late much dilapidated.

WELBECK.

THE accounts given by historians, as well respecting the date, as the founder of Welbeck abby, differ very essentially, though they all cite for their authority one common source of intelligence, the register of the house. It seems, on the whole, to have owed its institution to a private hand, and to have been founded about the reign of King Stephen, though not very liberally endowed till, at soonest, the next reign; when Thomas de Cukenev gave to Sir Berengarius, abbot of Welbeck, and the brethren of that place, serving God according to the order of the Præmonstratenses, large possessions in the vicinity of the abbey. It was afterwards enriched to a very great extent, by many private persons; and lastly, by two of superior rank, viz. King Edward I, and John Hotham, bishop of

Ely in the time of Edward III; the latter of whom was considered, from the magnitude of his donation, as a second founder. The abbey, and its appurtenances, were granted 26th of Feb. thirtieth of Henry VIII, to Richard Walley, and his heirs, being valued at two hundred and forty nine pounds six shillings and three pence. It was aliened by them soon after, and passed successively into the families of Osborne, Booth, and Holles, till it came into the possession of the Earl of Oxford, by his marriage with the sole heiress of the last mentioned name; Lady Henrietta Cavendish Holles, only daughter of His Grace John Holles, duke of Newcastle, in 1713. Of this marriage only one daughter survived, Lady Margaret Cavendish Harley; who married, in 1734, His Grace William, duke of Portland, and brought into his family the property at Welbeck. It was long the favorite residence of the present Duke of Portland, who much improved the house. It is now that of his son the Marquis of Titchfield.

FELLEY.

FELLEY priory was founded in 1152, by Ralph de Annesley, as a cell to the great priory at Worksop, situated in the north part of the county of Nottingham, and was endowed by him with lands in Felley and Annesley. This foundation soon after received the confirmation of his son Reginald; and in 1161, of Pope Alexander III. In 1311, the prior and canons of Felley appeared in Southwell church, before the official of the Archdeacon of Nottingham, and required that their ancient evidences, while they were yet perfect, might be published and recorded, which was done soon after in the parish church of St. Mary at Nottingham.

IN 1260, the prior and convent of Worksop released all right of dominion over the prior and convent of Felley, in consideration of an

annual rent of twenty shillings. This release received the confirmation of Godfrey, archbishop of York, and was witnessed by the abbots of Rufford and Welbeck, the priors of Thurgarton, Newstead, and Shelford, several of the canons of Southwell, and many other persons. This priory was valued at its suppression, which took place thirtieth of Henry VIII, at forty pounds nineteen shillings and one penny per annum. It was first granted, very soon after its dissolution, to Francis Bolles and Lucy his wife. It was again granted 4 & 5 Ph. & M. to Sir Anthony Strelley and Joan his wife, and the heirs of their bodies; and afterward, by James I, in the first year of his reign, to Anthony Millington and his heirs. It came, at length into possession of the Saville family; one whereof, Sir John, was created Earl of Mexborough, who sold a small part of the estate, lying near to Annesly, to the Chaworths of that place.

BEVALL.

THE priory of Bevall or Beauvale, we are informed by the register of the house, cited by Dugdale, was founded by Nicholas de Cantalupe, in 1343, for a prior and twelve monks of the Carthusian order, and endowed with lands in Griesley and Selston, the advowsons of the churches in those two towns, and the park of Griesley. Among other entries of the register, extracted by Dugdale, is a very curious one, for the time when it was written, containing the pedigree of the founder. Thoroton objects to it as incorrect; but the emendations he has made are, certainly, in some instances, not to be supported, if any part of the other have a sufficient foundation. Taking for granted, therefore, that the founder himself, or the monks who were instructed by him, knew the circumstances of his family better at the time of his founding the monastery, than Thoroton can be supposed to have done after a lapse of three more centuries, I give the substance of the pedigree contained in the register.

AT the dissolution, this priory was valued at one hundred and ninety six pounds six shillings per annum. It was afterwards granted by Henry VIII, to Sir William Hussey, and the heirs male of his body. Reverting to the crown, it was again granted by King Edward VI, to Richard Morrison, and his heirs. Lord Capel married the heiress of that family, and thereby acquired the possession of this property. It afterward passed into the family of Lamb, ennobled in 1770 by the barony of Melbourne.

HALLOUGHTON.

THE mention of this place has been purposely reserved till the conclusion of this chapter, because the authority, on which it is treated as a monastic foundation, is very different from those, which suggested the introduction of the others. Indeed, it is little more than tradition, and the current opinion of the country.

THE mansion-house upon the prebendal estate, in this parish of Halloughton, was very dark and gloomy, with an appearance of considerable antiquity, and situated within a very few yards of the parish church. It was, on the whole, not unlike many of the remains of old monasteries that have continued to our day. This sort of sombrous grandeur, which appeared about it, possibly might give birth to, but certainly was considered as bearing testimony to, the truth of a report, that it had belonged to a monastic society. The common opinion seemed to be, that it was someway connected with the great monastery at Thurgarton, but that the community established here was a female one. This was accompanied with a tradition, that there were two subterraneous communications from some part of this house; one with the priory of Thurgarton, the other with some part of Southwell. It was the policy of the reformers to attribute

to the Monks more contrivances of this kind, for sinister purposes, than the corruptions of those societies, profligate as they undoubtedly were, reasonably deserved. The event, however, justified the artifice, for it rendered the monks completely unpopular, and the dissolution of their convents, which was the object in view, naturally followed. The present age, which has had sagacity enough to develope this artful design of Henry and his ministers, has rejected many of these idle tales, respecting subterraneous communications, and many other absurdities (not only impracticable, but unnecessary) attributed to the monks. As is generally the case, however, the consequence of exposing one error has been the introduction of another, not much more reasonable than that which was abandoned. Thus excess of credulity has been succeeded by an extreme of scepticism, that rejects all evidence short of mathematical demonstration, and strikes at the very foundation of all historical testimony*.

* THE following letter from a gentleman of Southwell, may throw some light on the subject now in question.

“DEAR SIR,

“IN answer to your enquiries, respecting the discovery made some time ago, at Halloughton, I have this day received information from Mr. Prescott. You know he made very considerable alterations not long since in the prebendal house there. Among the rest, he laid a new floor in the kitchen, which led to the discovery now in question. On removing the old floor, at a very inconsiderable depth below it, was found a large flat stone, about the size of a mill-stone. On taking this up, they discovered a very large key, which had the appearance of having being laid there by design. They dug some little way into the ground, under where this was found, but met with nothing but loose earth. Mr. Prescott, being impatient to have the use of his kitchen, would not let them prosecute the search any further at that time, but had the hole filled up again, and the floor laid. Some time after this, Mr. Jackson, the prebendary of Southwell, being on a visit to Mr. Prescott, and hearing of these circumstances, prevailed on him to have the floor taken up again, and a more minute investigation made. This was accordingly done, and the place, over which the large, flat stone, before-mentioned, was found to have been laid, proved to be the mouth, or entrance, of some large cavity, enclosed by a circular, stone wall. As far as they dug they found a light earth and a continuance of the wall; but, at last, coming to water, they were

IF the opinion, that this was a monastic foundation, be well founded, it seems extraordinary that it should not be mentioned by any of the writers, who have dedicated their labors to enquiries of that sort. To this I may add, that no account of any such establishment is to be found in the tower, the augmentation office, the British museum, or among A. B. Parker's MSS. in all of which places there are lists, which purport to contain the names of all the religious houses in the kingdom. It is no less extraordinary, that no notice whatever is taken of any such foundation in the Thurgarton register, to which house, as has been before observed, this is supposed to have been a sort of appendage. In some future times further discoveries may, perhaps, be made; and to those times this relation may chance to communicate some information, or, at least, to prompt curiosity; which is all the apology necessary to be made for introducing an account of so suspicious a foundation, supported by no better authority than common tradition. There were many other religious houses in this county of considerable

“deterred from proceeding any further; Mr. Jackson threw in some halfpence and the place was again covered over. The notion of a subterraneous passage from this place to Thurgarton, which had been often mentioned at Southwell, but *as often laughed at*, now recurred to every one's memory, and the circumstance of the key being placed under the stone, has induced many to believe, that a discovery of such a passage, or of some great treasure concealed, at the dissolution of the monasteries, by some of the monks, would have rewarded the trouble of exploring further.

“ANOTHER discovery was made much about the same time, which has occasioned no less speculation than that I have mentioned. On taking down a stack of chimneys, in the same house, there was found, in the middle of them, a large recess, in which were many human skeletons, quite entire, and uncovered with earth or any thing else.

“I am, &c.”

ALL the former part of this account has since been confirmed to me by Mr. Jackson himself; and the latter by several persons at Southwell, with this additional circumstance, that the skeletons appeared to be mostly those of children.

size and consequence beside those here enumerated, particularly those of Lenton, Worksop, Blyth, Mattersey, Walling-Wells, and Brodholme. Some sort of connection seems to have subsisted among all those that have been already treated of; inasmuch as all precepts from Popes, Kings, or Archbishops of York, to be executed in any of them, were always directed to the abbot or principal (by whatever title he was distinguished) of some of the others: the brethren of one, or more of them, were always witnesses to the deeds and other instruments of the rest. This, and the circumstance of vicinity to Southwell, suggested the line that has been drawn, in the mention made of some monasteries in this county, and the omission of others.

THE MODERN

HISTORY OF SOUTHWELL,

BEGINNING WITH

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. VII.



ONE would scarcely have imagined that the very grateful Gervas Lee, who has erected the best memorial of himself, in his very pious endeavor to perpetuate the bounty of the benefactors to the church of Southwell, (by the inscription on a pillar, inserted in a former page of this work) should ever have been the author of the most scurrilous ballad against the members of this society, that language could convey. Such, however, is the fact; for the first event about the beginning of the seventeenth century, which presents itself to be recorded, as appertaining to the history of Southwell, is a fine set upon Gervas Lee, by the court of Star chamber, of five

hundred pounds, for a libel on the prebendaries and others of this church. What had provoked the irritability of this gentleman's temper, at this time, we are not informed: but the violence of his resentment, and the excess of his contempt, are strongly manifested in the ballad alluded to; which, without any other merit to claim attention, stands in the appendix, recommended solely by its singularity.*

IN 1608, we have seen, our poet's opinion of this body was much changed; and the credit of some degree of candor must not be denied him, since his recantation was full as publick as his error.

THE next event, which presents itself, is King James's visit to Southwell, in his way to London, when he came to take possession of the crown of England. The historians of that day only take notice of those towns where the King lodged: Southwell not being one of these, but only a place of refreshment, in his road from Worksop to Newark, has not, I believe, been noticed by any of them; but the fact of his being there, and the circumstances of his visit, have been recorded in so many private correspondences of the inhabitants, who were certainly proud of such a guest, that it admits of no doubt; and, therefore, is entitled to a place among the early events of the seventeenth century.

QUEEN ELIZABETH dying on the 24th of March, 1603, James VI, king of Scotland, left Edinburgh on the first of April following, (as we are informed by the continuator of Stow, and the other historians of the time), on his way to England, to take possession of that kingdom, to which he was invited, as well by the appointment

* VID. App. No. 28.

of Elizabeth, as by the limitations of an act of parliament, and the general inclinations of the people. James travelled, as he did every thing else, with an extraordinary deliberation. He spent more than a month in his journey between the capitals of the two kingdoms. His movements are thus related, among the transactions of that time. He went from Edinburgh to Dunglass, and from there to Berwick, where he staid three days. He arrived at Newcastle on the ninth of April, having been attended through the county of Northumberland by the sheriff, and a considerable concourse of nobility and gentry. Here he staid three days; the inhabitants treating the King and all his houshold, with the greatest magnificence. On Sunday the Bishop of Durham preached before the court, and received the commendations of his majesty. On the thirteenth he left Newcastle, and proceeded to Durham. From Durham he went on the fifteenth to York. Here, as the capital city of the north, the principal nobility and gentry of England, especially the officers of state, and ministers of the late queen, came to pay their court to the new sovereign. This ceremony lasted till the nineteenth, when James's pride, disgusted with the familiar address of his English courtiers, determined him to quit a place of such public resort. From York he went to Pomfret, and from there to Worksop, where he arrived on the 20th. Near Worksop he was met by a large band of hunters, dressed in an uniform, and well prepared for the chace. We are told by the last named historian, that the appearance of these sportsmen was very grateful to the King, who took the diversion of the field with them; and was the more pleased, as the amusement was unexpected.

FROM Worksop James's route lay, as the private history of the place informs us, through Southwell, towards Newark. At both these towns he was very respectfully treated; at the former by the canons of the church, at the latter by the mayor and corporation. He is said

to have expressed himself in terms of great surprise, at the sight of so large a pile of building as the church, in so small a town as Southwell. One of the attendants observing that York and Durham were more magnificent structures, James, who, I suppose, estimated the value of every object by the quantity of matter contained in it, replied somewhat peevishly in his Scotch accent, "Vary wele, vary wele, but by my blude this kirk shall juttle with York or Durham, or any kirk in christendom".

SOME time not far distant from this, was born Mr Edward Cludd; a man, the history of whose life is so connected with the fate of Southwell, and the transactions of its neighbourhood, during a considerable, and very important, part of the seventeenth century, that I take the opportunity of a period, not teeming with many events of moment to the town or church of Southwell, to mention such particulars of him as the history of the place, and the relations of the last generation, preserved in the memories of this, enable me. Mr. Cludd owed nothing of his power, or his popularity, to the rank or the riches of his ancestors: his celebrity was altogether personal, and of his own procuring. For this reason, it can be matter of no surprise, that I have been unable to find any thing respecting the antiquity of his family, or the origin of his name, which can be worth inserting. It may be conjectured, with considerable probability, that his ancestry were of Scotch extraction; taking their appellation from the vicinity of their abode to, what might as well give name to a family, as we know it has done to a river, and a considerable district in North Britain, Cluid, which Camden interprets *a rock*. Be the fate, however, of this conjecture what it may, of the following account respecting Cludd himself, there can be no doubt. His education, and the very early transactions of his life, are involved in the common obscurity of his descent, all that is known of him at that period, being, that

he was possessed of a small property in the parish of Arnal near Nottingham. He very early embarked in the Civil War, which took place between King Charles and his parliament, on the part of the latter; and was thought to be particularly serviceable to their cause in this part of the world, by his reputation for disinterestedness and independence. All the anecdotes of that time, still to be met with, shew him to have been a very moderate, temperate man; by no means an enemy to monarchy, though a strenuous opposer of the government as administered by Charles. He was the principal adviser of all the measures taken by the parliament in this part of the world, and was the person by whose invitation, and under whose protection, the commissioners of Scotland resided, and held their consultations, in the archiepiscopal palace at Southwell. An anecdote of a economical servant of this gentleman is still current at Southwell, which tends to shew the popularity of the master's character in the neighbourhood. Being sent by Cludd to London, to give some intelligence respecting the approach of the royal army, and the measures necessary to be taken for the purpose of defeating their schemes, he was asked, "How matters went in Nottinghamshire?" To which he replied, "I and my master rule all there".

WHEN the death of King Charles had dissolved both the monarchy and hierarchy, the ruling powers ordered many cathedrals to be dismantled: among the rest, Southwell became the object of their fury; and a warrant was directed to certain persons to take down the body or ante-choir, and all such other parts of the church as were not necessary for the purposes of the parish. Mr. Cludd, though he had no great veneration for the hierarchy, had a taste for antiquity; and by his great interest with Cromwell, who now directed every thing, saved the venerable fabric, and procured a revocation of the warrant for its demolition.

AFTER the alienation of the episcopal, and church lands, Mr. Cludd became the purchaser of Norwood Park, where he built, what was at that time esteemed, a good house, and lived with much magnificence and hospitality; being a justice of the peace, and Knight of the shire for the county of Nottingham, in the protector's parliament. Marriages being, by the establishment of that time, solemnized before the civil magistrate, Mr. Justice Cludd became very famous for the numberless rights of this kind, which were celebrated by his authority, under a remarkable oak in Norwood Park. The venerable tree was very lately standing, and retained its appellation of *Cludd's Oak*. After the restoration, we are informed by Thoroton, this gentleman continued in possession of his house and estate, but it was as lessee under the Archbishop of York.

IN 1672, he died at Norwood, and was buried in the middle aisle of Southwell church, with the following inscription on his gravestone.
E. C. 1672.

IN the fire, which happened in 1711, and burnt the roof of this church, a large piece of timber fell on this gravestone of Mr. Cludd's, and broke a part of it off. The remainder, on which was the inscription, when the church was new paved after that accident, was removed to the door leading into the north aisle of the choir, where it still remains, with the letters and date very legible.

WE now approach that period, when the oppressions of an unweildly prerogative on one side, and the insolence and enthusiasm of a barbarous democracy on the other, produced a collision, which, at length, ended, after an unsettled constitution of some centuries, in an attempt to ascertain the bounds of the King's power, and the

people's freedom. Charles I, reasoning, perhaps, plausibly enough, and acting, probably, according to the strictest dictates of his own conscience, continued to rule the kingdom upon the maxims of former princes, and former times, in an age, when, the natural rights of mankind being better understood, the people's principles were entirely changed. They were become unwilling to resign, into the custody of a capricious monarch, those liberties, with which they believed themselves endowed by God and nature, and of which they deemed themselves the best guardians and protectors. These opposite sentiments, at a time when neither of the contending parties was in a situation to receive any impression from the arguments of the other, produced a convulsion, on which either king or people would, at first, have looked with horror and detestation. In some of the circumstances of this contest, Southwell was particularly interested. Its palace afforded an asylum to the monarch, first; then to the parliament generals; and afterwards, to the commissioners of Scotland. Southwell was the residence of Montreville, the French ambassador, who was sent to England by Cardinal Mazarine, the minister of France, to negotiate between the King and the parliament. Southwell became a place of rest to Cromwell, in his march to the battle of Preston; and, lastly, to General Monk, in his road from the north to London, when he effected the restoration; and is said to have been the first place where the knowlege of his intention became suspected by the publick.

It is remarkable, that in Whitlock, Rushworth, and in many of the records of that time, which have been published, Southwell is mistakenly written Southam.

THE following estimate of Southwell manor is taken from a folio in the Bodleian library at Oxford, MSS. Rawlinson. In the first

page of it is written "Liber Jo. Bruere registr: 1646", and it is entitled "The present value and improvements of all the manors, "farnes, graunges, rents, impropriations, and all other possessions "and profits whatsoever lately belonging to the several bishopricks of "England and Wales, which have been certified by the surveyors of "the respective diocesses; together with the value of all woods, "underwoods, stocks, and materials by the said surveyors returned "in grosse.

PRESENT rents and profits of Southwell manor, £. 262 7s. 1d. per annum. Improvements above £. 369 19s. 10d. per annum. Materials, woods, &c. val. in grosse. £. 2492 11s. George Hewley, surveyor.

THE next account of the same subject is taken from another book in the same collection, but which is without a title. It seems, however, to want little explanation, for the purpose of ascertaining the date, or occasion of it. The former appears to have been a valuation taken by the direction of the ruling powers, after the dissolution of the monarchy and hierarchy, in the last century: the following to contain the entries made of the particulars, relative to the sale of the archiepiscopal estates at Southwell, during the usurpation.

MANOR of Southwell, in the bishoprick of York, purchased by William Pierrepoint for the sum of one thousand, four hundred, and ninety four pounds; conveyance dated February 24, 1647.

PARCEL of the manor of Southwell, purchased by Edward Cludd, for the sum of two hundred and nineteen pounds, nine shillings, and ten pence; conveyance dated April 19, 1647.

THE Bishop's palace in Southwell, New park, and Hexgrave Park, in the bishoprick of York, purchased by Edward Cludd for the sum of one thousand, six hundred and sixty six pounds, seven shillings, and three pence halfpenny; conveyance dated May 26, 1648.

HOCKREWOOD MEADOW &c. in the liberties of Southwell, and in the bishoprick of York, purchased by Gervas Oglethorpe for the sum of one hundred and eighty one pounds, fifteen shillings, and three pence; conveyance dated January 12, 1648.

PART of the manor of Southwell, purchased by Edward Bellamy for the sum of five hundred and twenty seven pounds, two shillings, and eight pence; conveyance dated March 7, 1648.

THE following account of inhabitants within the peculiar of Southwell, is stated to be made by a Mr. Leak, canon of Southwell, September, 1676, and is to be found in the Bodleian library at Oxford, MSS. Tanner, 150.

“THE number of inhabitants (of age to receive the communion) popish recusants, and other dissenters from the church of England, in the several parishes within the jurisdiction of Southwell.

	Inhabitants.	Popish Recusants.	Dissenters.
SOUTHWELL	706	0	10
Blidworth	102	0	1
Beckingham	204	0	0
Bleasby	114	1	0
Morton	64	0	0
North Leverton	152	0	17
Dunham	146	0	0

	Inhabitants.	Popish Recusants.	Dissenters.	
Rampton	185	0	3	
Eton	68	0	2	
North Muskham, Holme, & Bathley	230	0	17	
South Muskham	108	0	0	
Calverton	129	0	52	
Darlton	94	2	0	
Ragnel	89	0	0	
Farnsfield	184	0	20	
Cropwell Bishop	159	0	7	
Oxton	178	0	11	
Upton	189	2	1	
Kirklington	128	12	1	
Norwell	147	0	9	
Caunton	193	0	17	
Edingly	131	0	6	
Halam	94	0	5	
South Wheatly	32	0	0	
Halloughton	30	0	3	
Woodborow	130	0	8	
	Total	3986	17	190"

IN the year 1711, happened that dreadful conflagration, which has been, more than once, mentioned, in the course of this work. The account, which I receive of it from those who remember it, is as follows: "On the evening of the 5th of November, in the year "above-mentioned, a very violent storm, attended with thunder and "lightening, passed over the town. Between eleven and twelve "o'clock, a small flame, not larger than a candle would emit, was "perceived, by those who lived near the church, to rise from the "very summit of the south spire. There was a very high west wind

“ the whole night, which blew the timber and wood-work of the
 “ spire, as it burned, on the roof of the church; so that, before mid-
 “ night, the spire and the roof of the whole west end of the building
 “ were in flames. Before morning the fire was communicated to the
 “ roof of the middle tower, and had melted the bells, and destroyed
 “ the organ. The damage was estimated at four thousand pounds.”

THE names of those who contributed to the repair of this fabrick, being collected under the authority of a brief, do not appear, except indeed that of the Dutchess of Newcastle, who gave the chapter five hundred pounds on this occasion. Her liberality was celebrated by a Mr. Beckwith Spencer, the parish vicar of that time, in a poem, which he entitled *The Benefactress*; but the merit of the performance was by no means equal to the gratitude which inspired its author. The present peal of bells were cast by one Ruddall of Gloucester, in the year 1721, as the motto on one of them testifies. Each of them has its proper inscription, and they are in the following order.

- 1st BELL, *Abraham Ruddall of Gloucester cast us all, 1721.*
 2d ——— *Peace and Good Neighbourhood.*
 3d ——— *Prosperity to this Town.*
 4th ——— *Prosperity to our Benefactors.*
 5th ——— *From Lightning and Tempest good Lord deliver us.*
 6th ——— *Prosperity to the Chapter.*
 7th ——— *Prosperity to the Church of England.*
 8th ——— { *I to the Church the Living call,*
 { *And to the Grave do summon all.*

THE organ was rebuilt by a German of the name of Smith, a man very eminent in his profession at that time of day.

ABOUT the year 1740, a discovery was made in one of the vaults of the palace, which has been thought, by some, to confirm, in an extraordinary degree, one of those many pieces of traditional history, to which the residence of King Charles I, with a part of his army, at Southwell gave occasion. A story was current in this place and its neighbourhood, that the last time but one the King was here, a few weeks before that when he came to deliver himself up to the Scotch, the several armies of the parliament pressing forward to surround him, news being brought by a deserter, that a party of the enemy were on their march from Nottingham, some of the King's guard (not crediting the information, but believing that the pretended deserter was a spy) forced him into one of the vaults or wells of the palace. So strongly was this report propagated, that, after the restoration, when a small part of this building was again converted into a dwelling-house, one of the wells within its walls was covered over, from a supposition that it had been the scene of this cruel transaction, and, with a very natural prejudice, that its water would be unfit for use. About the year before-mentioned, however, a person who rented a garden contiguous to the south wall of this building, got permission to break a door-way into one of the small turrets, with which this side abounded, to make a garden-house, or place of reception for his tools. This being done, it was found to have been the vault to one of those many temples of Cloacina before noticed, which this part of the palace possessed. On clearing it of a considerable quantity of earth and stones, which lay at the bottom, there was discovered the entire skeleton of a man standing upright, with boots and spurs on, and some parts of the arms, usually worn in those days, lying at his feet. Near to this skeleton was a skull, with the iron part of an axe, with which the person had been killed, still remaining in the cleft of it. The spurs were very lately in the possession of one of the gentlemen of the church. Of the facts no

one in the place doubts; and, indeed, nothing of the kind can be better attested; some of the persons who were present at the discovery having been till very lately, alive; and relating the circumstances with that degree of exactness and precision that carries conviction. The tradition was considered, by most persons, as one of the marvellous tales which the vulgar always adopt without sufficient examination, and eagerly report without scruple or hesitation. It was supposed to have been invented for the sake of throwing a stigma on the royal cause, and to have been imposed, from time to time, for the same purpose, on the credulity of the multitude. How far the event has justified those who gave it credit, is not very material for me to determine, whose only task is to record facts, but not to decide upon their importance.

It has been before observed, that Southwell is remarkable for the longevity of its inhabitants. To prove the position one need but read the register of the parish, and the inscriptions on the tombs in the church yard; of which the few following may suffice for a specimen.

	ÆTAT.		ÆTAT.
JOHN BOSWORTH	80	John Scot	80
Edward Brooks	82	Frances Pipes	92
—— Brooks	84	Ann Leybourn	84
Richard Aston	84	F. Robinson	88
Francis Sandifer	84	Thomas Sawman	91
Hannah Ingleman	85	Barbara Duke	82
John Cade	85	Richard Harris	91
Alice Clay	85	Elizabeth Wombell	87
Joseph Beardsley	80	Mrs. Leyburne	87
Elizabeth Biggins	83	Mary Halton	87
Mary Mosford	99	Mrs. Twells	90

		ÆTAT.	ÆTAT.		
Richard Wittington	92	John Watts	.....	84
John Cade	93	John Ince	.....	86
— Higgins	99	Luke Ward	.....	85
Elizabeth Turvey	100	Sarah Little	.....	84
Thomas Baines	83	William Ward	.....	86
Ann Hutchinson	90	Ann Reddish	.....	91
Luke Ward	83			

RECTORIES, VICARAGES, CHAPELS, &c.

WITHIN THE

JURISDICTION OF SOUTHWELL.

Church of	Dedicated to	King's Bks.	Reputed Val. exclu. of fees and Contribu.	Patrons.
		£. s. d.	£. s. d.	
Beckingham,	V. All Saints	6 15 3	38 0 0	Prebendary of Beckingham.
Bleasby,	V. St. Mary	4 0 0	17 12 0	Chapter.
Blidworth,	V. St. Mary	4 0 0	24 2 0	Prebendaries of Oxtou alternately.
Calverton,	V. St. Wilfrid	4 0 0	19 0 0	Prebendaries of Oxtou alternately.
Caunton,	V. St. Andrew	4 2 1	27 14 4	Prebendary of North Muskham.
Cropwell,	V. St. Giles	5 3 4	25 13 0	Prebendaries of Oxtou alternately.
Dunham,	V. St. Oswald	4 13 4	49 10 0	Prebendary of Dunham.
Edingly,	V. St. Giles	4 0 0	20 0 0	Chapter.
Eaton,	V. All Saints	4 13 4	49 5 10	Prebendary of Eaton.
Farnsfield,	V. St. Michael	4 0 0	26 15 0	Chapter.
Kirklington,	V. St. Swithin	3 13 4	20 0 0	Chapter.
Leverton, North,	V. St. Martin	5 0 0	12 14 0	Prebendary of Leverton.
Muskham, North,	V. St. Wilfrid	5 6 8	10 0 0	Prebendary of North Muskham.
Muskham, South,	V. St. Wilfrid	4 0 0	38 15 0	Prebendary of South Muskham.
Norwell Overhall,	V. St. Lawrence	4 12 11	17 10 0	Prebendary of Norwell Overhall.
Norwell tertia pars,	V. St. Lawrence	4 12 11	35 0 0	Prebendary of Norwell tertia pars.
Oxtou,	V. St. Peter	6 0 0	23 10 0	Prebendaries of Oxtou.
Rampton,	V. All Saints	10 0 3	36 17 2	Prebendary of Rampton.
Southwell,	V. St. Mary	7 13 4	9 3 4	Prebendary of Normanton.
Upton,	V. St. Peter	4 11 5½	35 14 0	Chapter.
Wheatly, South,	R. St. Helen	6 14 2	23 13 4	Chapter.
Woodborough,	V. St. Swithin	4 0 0	13 0 0	Prebendaries of Oxtou.

CHAPELS, DONATIVES, CURACIES, &c.

	What	Certified Value	Belongs to	Patron.
Carlton	Chapel		Norwell Church	Prebendary of Norwell tertia pars.
Darlton	Chapel		Dunham	Prebendary of Dunham.
Halam	Chapel	0 7 0	Southwell	Chapter.
Halloughton ..	Curacy	10 0 0		Prebendary of Halloughton.
Holme	Chapel	7 10 0	North Muskham	
Morton	Curacy	19 7 0		Prebendary of Dunham.
Ragnal	Chapel		Dunham	

A general history of property at Southwell, with some account of such eminent families as are become extinct, or have quitted the place; with the pedigrees of those who now possess the most considerable freeholds, and have been settled more than two generations at Southwell.

IN treating this part of my subject, it was necessary to draw some line. That, which seemed most eligible, was, where property and residence concurred in fixing the establishment of any family at Southwell, to consider it as the subject of discussion; to the exclusion of others, the prospect of whose continuance, from the deficiency of either of these ingredients, was more uncertain.

SOUTHWELL.

UNDER this head of enquiry, the family of Southwell first present themselves to be noticed. The further we go back beyond the reign of Henry VII, the more and more difficult it is found, without the assistance of family deeds, or other very authentic records, to trace names through all their fluctuations of fortune, and changes of situation. The patriotic provisions of the legislature under that monarch, making the alienation of property more practicable, names no longer continued to be taken from family estates, and places of abode; but whatever appellation a man first adopted, that he

continued himself through every change of situation, and delivered down to his posterity. Before that time scarce any man had, what we call a surname, but as the inhabitant of a certain town, or the occupier of a certain estate: so that the same person *not unfrequently* changed his own name several times in his life, and *very frequently* three successive generations bore three different names*. As for instance, a man of the christain name John, lives at Southwell, having two sons Richard and Robert, one of whom lives in a monastery, the other at the town of Nottingham; at one and the same time the father would be John de Southwell, one son be Richard de Monasteriis or de Musters, and the other be Robert de Nottingham. But further, suppose the father to change his situation, and go from Southwell, first to Newark, then to Doncaster; he would be at Newark, John de Southwell de Newark; at Doncaster, he would be John de Southwell de Doncaster†. The necessary consequence of this was, that

* “ IN that authentic record of the exchequer, called Doomsday book, surnames are first found, brought in by the Normans, who not long before first began to take them; but most noted with *de*, as Godfridus de Manevilla; Walterus de Vernon. Some took the name of their office, as Endo Dapifer; Radulphus Venator. It seemed a disgrace for a gentleman to have but one name, as the meaner sort, and bastards had. The most surnames in number, the most ancient, and of best account, have been local, deduced from places in Normandie, being either the patrimonial possessions, or native places of such as served the conqueror, or came out of Normandie. As Mortimer, Warren, Percy, Devereaux, Tankerville, Neville, Ferrers, Harcourt, and Montfort. There is not any village in Normandie that gave not denomination to some family in England; in which number are all names having the French *De, Du, Des, De La*, prefixed, and beginning or ending in *font, beau, mont, court, fort, champ, &c. &c.* The Polonian nobility take their names from places, adding *skie, or ki, thereto*”. Vid. Camden’s remains.

† “ IN England and Scotland every town, village, or hamlet, hath afforded names to families, as Derbyshire, Lancashire, Essex, Murray, Stafford, Hastings, Gordon, Lumley, Windsor, Stanhope, Penruddock. &c. &c. Of the families in Cornwall is this Rhyme.

By Tre, Ros, Pol, Lan, Caer, and Pen,

You may know the most Cornish men;

which signify a town, a heath, a pool, a church, a city, a promontory. Many names are local which do not seem so, because the places are unknown to most men. Who would imagine Whitgift,

there were often living, at the same time, in the same place, several persons of the same name; and the only distinction they had, even within the place, was some additional appellation expressive of a trade, or an occupation, or some accidental local peculiarity; as John le Carpenter de Southwell, William le Fisher de Southwell, Richard de Greenfield de Southwell*. Under such circumstances it is no wonder the genealogist frequently finds a cloud of confusion, which no ingenuity can elude, or industry dissipate.

THERE are pedigrees, almost without number, of the family of Southwell, which shew them to have been persons of considerable consequence, even in very early times; particularly one, extremely curious, in the British museum. But, as well for the reasons very lately given, as because minutely correct and comprehensive genealogies, further than they are requisite to elucidate and explain the history of property, are not within the professed purpose of this work, I shall content myself with giving a general account of the most considerable persons of this name in early times, and the different parts of the world, in which they have lately flourished.

Powlet, Bacon, Alshop, Tyrwhit, and many others to be local names, and yet most certainly there are many such like changed by corruption of speech. Rivers also have imposed names on some men, as Derwent water, Eđen, Troutbeck, &c. as some at Rome were called Tiberii, Aufidii, &c. because they were born near the rivers Tiber, Aufidus, &c. Divers also have names from trees near their habitations, as Oak, Aspe, Beach, Plumb, &c. Many of these have been strangely contracted; as *at Ash*, into *Tash*; *at Oak*, into *Toke*; *at Abbey* into *Tabbey*; &c". Vid. Camden's remains.

* "AFTER local names, the most names in number have been derived from occupations or professions, as Taylor, Potter, Smith, Sadler, Archer, Weaver, Painter, Walker, Carpenter, Chapman, Cartwright, &c. Many have been assumed from offices, as Chambers, Chamberlain, Cook, Steward, Sergeant, Forrester, Hunter, &c. Likewise from ecclesiastical functions, as Bishop, Abbot, Monk, Dean, &c. Likewise from civil honors, as King, Duke, Prince, Valvasor, Squire, &c. Others from the qualities of the mind, as Goodman, Goodchild, Meek, Sharp, Quick, &c."

Thoroton, in his history of Nottinghamshire, deduces the pedigree of this family from Simon de Southwell, in the reign of Henry III, through Sir John de Southwell, in that of Edward I; Robert de Southwell, in that of Edward II; and so on to that of Henry VI, when most of this family migrated from Nottinghamshire into Norfolk, Suffolk, and Sussex. Of these were Sir Robert Southwell, master of the rolls to Henry VIII; and Sir Richard Southwell, privy counsellor to the same King. In the reign of James I, two of the Southwells, Thomas and Anthony, went on the King's affairs into Ireland, where they both became the progenitors of a numerous issue. One of their descendants, according to Camden, was ennobled by the title of Viscount Castle Maltress, of the county of Limerick. The principal branch of the Southwells which remained in England, we are informed by the same authority, seated themselves at King's Weston in Gloucestershire, in the year 1678, having purchased that manor just before. In Thoroton is also recorded one John de Southwell, alias Fysher, (more properly John le Fysher de Southwell) to whom Arundel, archbishop of York, in the nineteenth of Richard II, granted the inn, known by the name of the Saracen's head, which was an escheat to the Archbishop, in right of his manor of Southwell. Of this family, I find, in other authorities, John de Southwell, member of parliament for Lewes, temp. Henry VIII; Sir Richard de Southwell one of the executors of the last will of Thomas, the famous duke of Norfolk, who died in the second year of Queen Mary; Sir Robert Southwell of Woodrising, in the county of Norfolk, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Charles Lord Howard of Effingham, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth; besides many others of inferior consequence. Among the MSS. Bennet' college library, is a curious letter dated Sep. 16, 1580, from John Southwell of Ipswich, to the Archbishop of Canterbury. In Lincoln cathedral two of the family, Hugh and William, the former spelt Southwell, the latter Suwell, are buried.

They were both prebendaries of that church, Hugh in 1406, but the stone on which the other was recorded, had no date*.

PALMER.

THERE IS NO authentic account, respecting the coming of this family into Nottinghamshire; but in the beginning of the last century they appear to have had freeholds in many parts of the county. One of them, Mathew Palmer, Esq. was high sheriff for the county of Nottingham, in the year 1623. Their principal property lay at Southwell, where also was their mansion house, from the reign of Henry VIII, till the year 1664; as may be collected from the following notes, extracted from the deeds of the family; which, with the principal part of the estate, are come into the possession of Sir Richard Sutton, Bart. of Norwood, as before has been noticed.

THE capital mansion house, with the appurtenances, were purchased by J. Palmer, Esq. of William Trowsdale, Esq. by indenture dated 20th of March, thirty seventh of Henry VIII, (1546) and sold by a Thomas Palmer to Edward VI, 1553. The year following Edward VI granted it to the said Thomas Palmer, from whom it descended to Sir Matthew Palmer, Knight, whose younger brother, J. Palmer, sold it to Roger Stayner, by indenture dated 26th Feb. 1664. It was afterwards sold, in 1682, by Richard Holford and Elizabeth his wife, daughter and heir at law to the said Roger Stayner, to Charles Stanhope, Esq. and continued in that family till purchased by Sir Richard Sutton, Bart. in the year 1778.

* THE present illustrious families of Southwell, both of England and Ireland, are respectively descended from those before mentioned; but, as the former of these has of late been ennobled by the barony of Clifford, I have only to refer such readers, as wish for more particular information respecting them, to those faithful repositories of the virtues of nobility, the peerages; where the ancestry of those, who reckon any, are recorded with accuracy; and where those, who have found none, are provided with them plausibly.

SAVAGE.

THROUGH the whole of the last century, the name of Savage frequently occurs in the transfer of property at Southwell, either as party, or witness. Many of the family are buried in the north aisle of the choir, as inscriptions on the pavement testify. The person, by whom I was supplied with some curious MSS. hereinafter to be inserted, is the only one of their descendants I can discover in any state of affluence or splendor, at this time; and he could give no further information of his ancestry, than that his grandfather had left Southwell in the year 1703, but how long before he cannot ascertain.

LEE.

A family of this name flourished for four generations in the town of Norwell; having very considerable property there and at Southwell. They are supposed to have come originally from Hertfordshire, but immediately from Stamford in the county of Lincoln, before they fixed in Nottinghamshire. In the former part of the last century they were the most considerable freeholders in the parish of Southwell, and a part of the family lived there. Towards the end of it, however, their property, partly by marriage, partly by purchase, passed into the family of Clay, which remains at Southwell to this day. Some parts of the Palmer's estates also, which were not comprised in the conveyance of 1664, to Roger Stayner, were purchased by the Clays.

WYMONDSWOLD.

IN Thoroton is preserved the pedigree of this family, from the time of Henry VI, to the end of the last century. The first of them, who appears to have had any property at Southwell, was John de Wymondswold, who married Margaret, sole heiress of that part of

the family of Southwell, who remained in Nottinghamshire. Edward, the great grandson of this John de Wymondswold, had two sons, John and William. The latter of these appears to have been the founder of a family in the south; where one of his sons married a daughter of the rich Sir Abraham Dawes, great grandfather to the Archbishop of York, of that name. John, the eldest son, remained at Southwell, where his posterity flourished till the beginning of the last century; when their property was purchased by a Samuel Lowe of Lancashire, in whose descendants it continues at this day.

BUTLER.

THIS is a name of great honor and antiquity in the county of Nottingham. It was indifferently written Bottiler, Boteler, and Butler. Different branches of this family were fixed at Hoekerton by Southwell, and at Cropwell Butler; the latter of which seems to have been their principal estate. They had also property in Kinalton, Tytheby, and other places. After the death of Cludd, in 1672, though how long does not appear, Norwood park, with the chauntry and other estates in Southwell and its neighbourhood, came into the possession of one of the Butlers. In the beginning of this century, all this property again changed hands. The alienation of Norwood park has been already noticed; the chauntry, and some other of the estates at Southwell, partly leasehold, partly freehold, were purchased by Locke of Kelham; and the remainder by Beecher of Southwell.

HUNT.

THE family of Hunt were long in the possession of a considerable estate within the parish of Southwell, and a mansion house in the hamlet of Normanton. This is a name of great antiquity in the

town of Nottingham. I find John Hunt, mayor of that corporation in the year 1467, which was the sixth of Edward IV; and another of the family, Thomas Hunt, filling the same office in 1475. Edward, the brother of the before mentioned John, seems to have been the first who fixed at Normanton. He left a son Thomas, which Thomas had a son Edmund, whose son Henry dying without issue, here ended this branch of the family, by failure of issue male. Edmund left three daughters, one of whom, Isabel, married Edward Boun; who partly by inheritance, partly by purchase, became possessed of the whole estate of the Hunts of Normanton. It continued in the name of Boun through three generations; when Gilbert Boun, serjeant at law, sold it to a John More, doctor of physick. This John More had other considerable estates in the neighbourhood of Southwell, particularly at Kirklington and Hockerton. He had a daughter, Winifred, married to Thomas Hencage; who, in 1736, sold these estates belonging to his wife. Kirklington and Hockerton were purchased by Thomas Whetham, Esq. and with the widow of his descendant they remain at this day. This property at Normanton has passed through more hands, but is now (as I believe) in the possession of Robert Lord Carrington.

CARTWRIGHT.

A branch of the ancient family of Cartwright also fixed at Normanton in the beginning of the last century; Hugh, fourth son of William Cartwright, marrying Mary, daughter and heiress of William Cartwright of Edingley, who had a daughter Christian, who married William Cartwright of Normanton, and by him had a son and heir William, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Charlton of Chilwell, in the county of Nottingham, and inherited the estate at Normanton, with a good mansion house built by his father. He

married the daughter and heiress of Adam Nicholson of Marnham, in the same County, by whom he had a son, William, who lived at Marnham, and married the daughter of his relation, Cartwright of Ossington, by whom he left several children. John Cartwright, third son of the last William, by the death of the eldest son, William, and the conveyance of the second son, George, got possession of the Marnham estate, and sold it in 1794. The property at Normanton has long been disposed of, and divided among a great number of persons.

BESIDE these, are many other proprietors of estates in the parish of Southwell; which, not coming within my purposed limit, I pass over, to record the members of the church, and the pedigrees of the most considerable families in the place.

MEMBERS OF

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF SOUTHWELL,

From 1728 to the present time.

- 1729 Lewis Stephens, installed prebendary of Dunham.
 1730 Francis Charlton, do. of S. Muskham.
 1732 Thomas Blunt, do. of Sacrista.
 Richard Levett, do. of Oxtan prima pars.
 1733 Edward Gregory, do. of Norwell tertia pars.
 Andrew Matthews, do. of Sacrista.
 1734 Jaques Sterne, do. of S. Muskham.
 Bennet Sherrard do. of S. Leverton.
 1736 Joseph Atwell, do. of Normanton.
 1742 Joseph Atwell, do. of Oxtan secunda pars.
 1743 Matthew Bradford, do. of Normanton.

- 1747 William Herring, do. of Dunham.
 Thomas Herring, do. of Dunham.
- 1748 Francis Wanley, do. of Norwell Palacchall
- 1749 Hugh Thomas, do. of Oxtou prima pars.
 Scrope Berdmore do. of Eaton.
- 1750 Lynford Caryl do. of N. Muskham.
 Edward Chapel do. of Rampton.
 Claudius Daubuz, do. of Normanton.
- 1753 Thomas Cockshut, do. of Beckingham.
 Granville Wheeler, do. of N. Leverton.
- 1754 William Caley, do. of Halloughton.
- 1755 Robert Oliver, do. of S. Muskham.
- 1758 Robert Gilbert, do. of Norwell Overhall.
- 1759 John Dealtry, do. of Norwell tertia pars.
- 1760 William Rastall, do. of Normanton.
- 1761 Hon. R. Sherard, do. of Woodborough.
- 1762 John Marsden, do. of Sacrista.
- 1767 John Marsden, do. of Rampton.
 Samuel Abson, do. of Sacrista.
- 1768 John Marsden, do. of Oxtou secunda pars.
 Samuel Abson, do. of Rampton.
 Ralph Heathcote do. of Sacrista.
- 1769 Scrope Berdmore, do. of Eaton.
- 1770 Thomas Porter, do. of N. Leverton.
- 1774 Richard Kaye, do. of Dunham.
 Henry Watkins, do. of Beckingham.
- 1777 William Cooper, do. of Norwell Overhall.
 Peter Peckard, do. of Rampton.
- 1778 William Beecher, do. of Woodborough.
- 1780 Josias Laborde, do. of Oxtou prima pars.
 William Jackson, do. of Dunham.
- 1781 Richard Barnard, do. of N. Muskham.

1783	Richard Kaye,	do.	of N. Muskham.
1784	James Willoughby,	do.	of S. Muskham.
1785	F. Herbert Hume,	do.	of Halloughton.
	William Dealtry,	do.	of Norwell tertia pars.
1786	Cyril Jackson,	do.	of Norwell Overhall.
1787	George Markham	do.	of Norwell Overhall.
1788	Nathaniel Haines	do.	of Oxtou prima pars.
1789	G. Desmeth Kelley,	do.	of Normanton.
1791	William Smelt,	do.	of Norwell Palacehall.
1795	Richard Sutton,	do.	of Sacrista.
1796	H. Foster Mills,	do.	of Oxtou secunda pars.
1798	Richard Sutton,	do.	of Rampton.
	Charles Wylde,	do.	of Sacrista.
1800	Samuel Smith,	do.	of N. Leverton.
1802	John Eyre,	do.	of Norwell Overhall.

VICARS CHORAL.

1728	James Gibson	admitted Vicar choral.
	Chappel Fowler	do.
1730	Henry Bugg	do.
1731	Benjamin Cooper	do.
1736	Christopher Jackson	do.
1741	John Laverack	do.
1742	Thomas Fellows	do.
	Samuel Abson	do.
1745	Edmund Crofts	do.
1746	Childers Twentyman	do.
1753	Charles Fowler	do.
1754	William Law	do.
1760	John Holmes	do.
	William Leybourn	do.

1762	Davis Pennell	do.
1773	Whalley Bugg	do.
1774	Richard Barrow	do.
1779	William Bristoe	do.
1780	Charles Fowler, son of Charles Fowler	do.
1782	Henry Howson	do.
1784	Robert Cane	do.
1785	William Pinching	do.
1788	Magnus Jackson	do.
1802	Sherard Beecher	do.

ORGANISTS.

1754	Samuel Wise appointed	Organist.
1755	Edmund Ayrton	do.
1764	Thomas Spofforth	do.

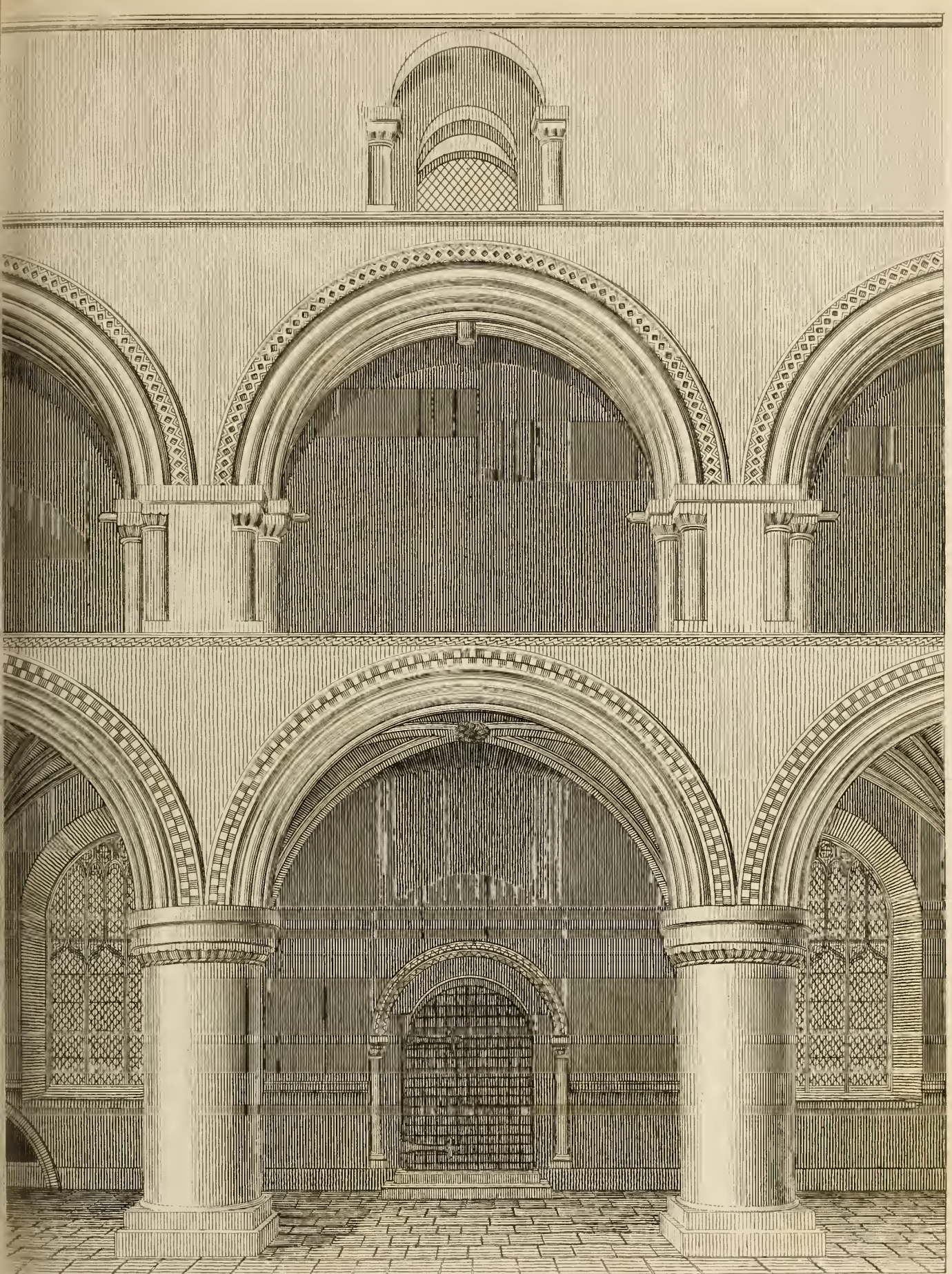
THE latest improvements, which have been made in this place, are the library on the south, and the public walk on the north side of the church, and a new front to the Residentiary's house, with some offices that contain many additional accommodations. A cotton mill, upon a small scale, was erected some years since on the little river Greet, but it has not added much to the population of the place, nor, as is supposed, to the opulence of the successive proprietors. An attempt has been lately made to have the river Greet rendered navigable, but it has been generally conjectured, that the expence of carrying such a project into execution would exceed the advantages to be derived from it, and it has, therefore, been relinquished.



NORTH EAST VIEW OF SOUTHWELL CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.



The West End of the Church.



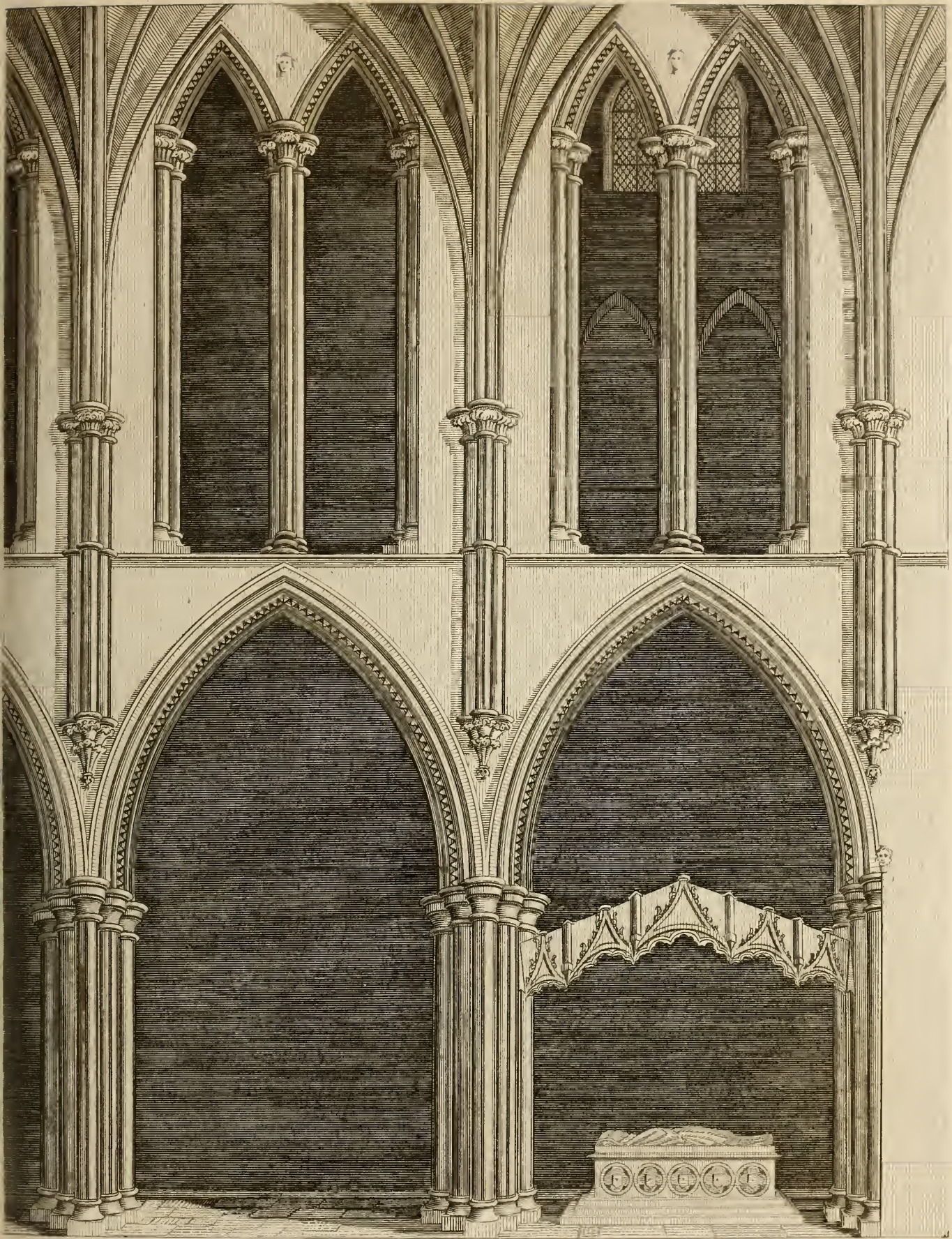
(C) Triches of the Antechoir.



THE PORCH ON THE NORTH SIDE OF SOUTHWELL CHURCH



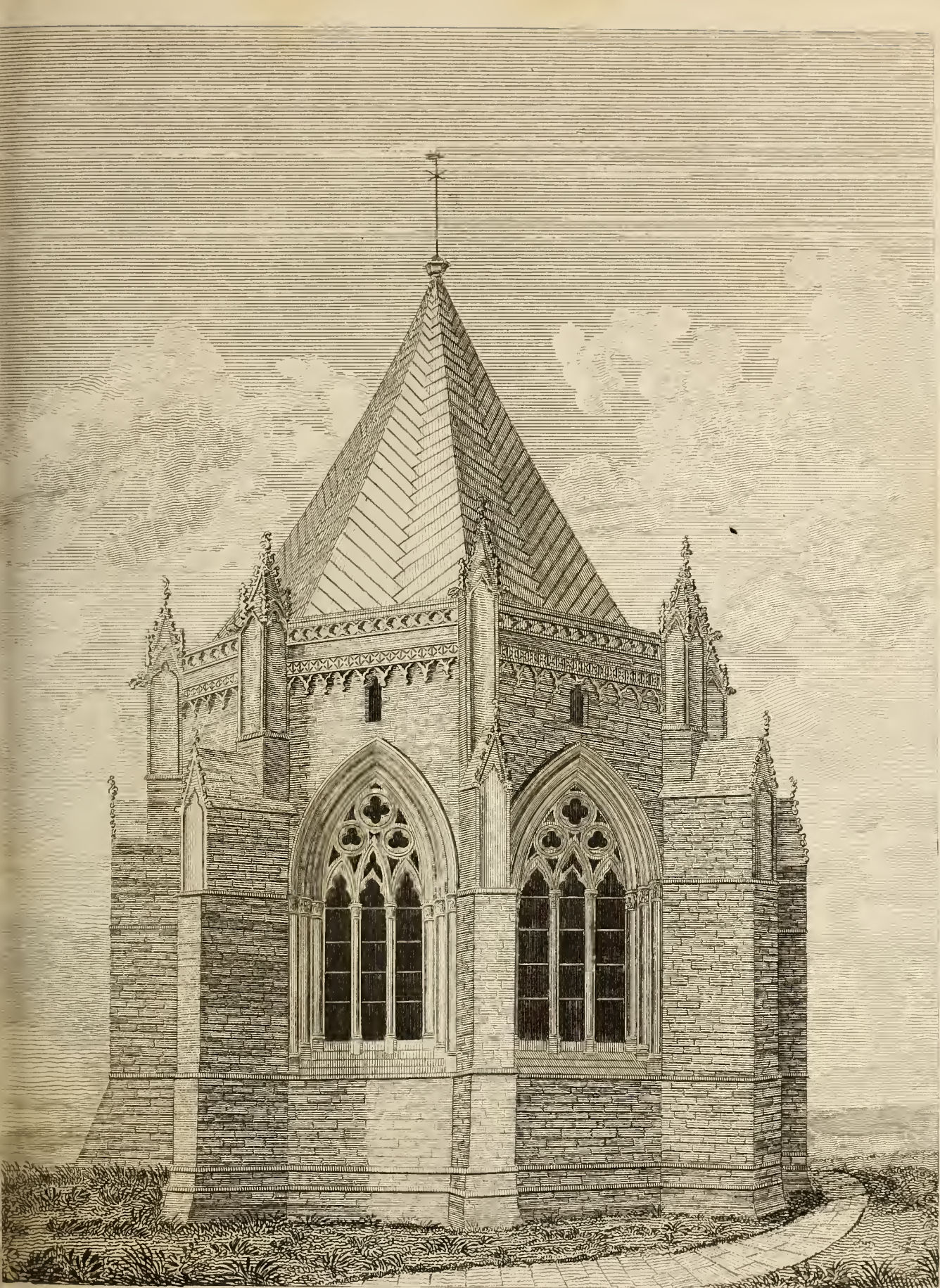
SOUTH END OF THE CROSS AISLE OF SOUTHWELL CHURCH



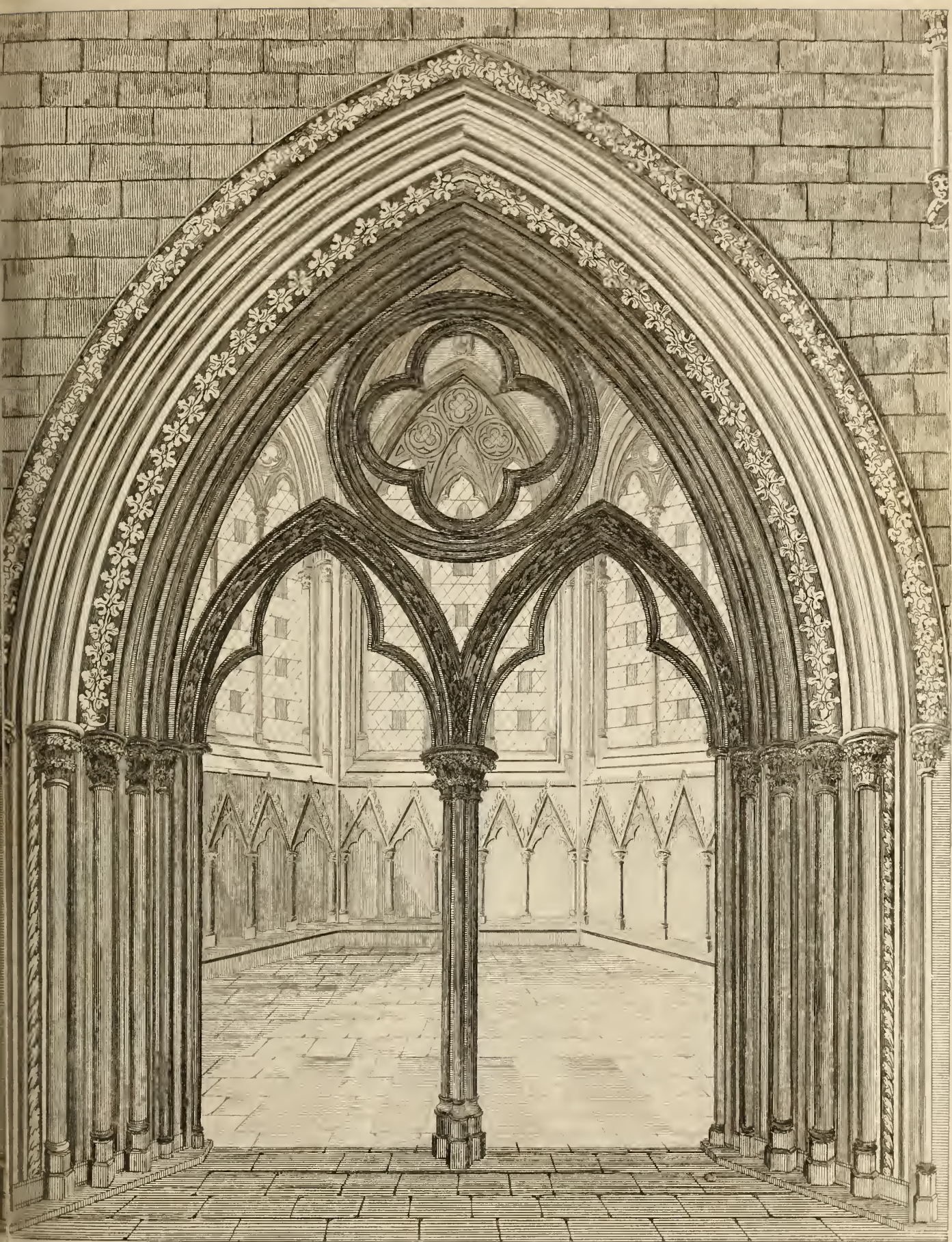
Arches of the Choir.



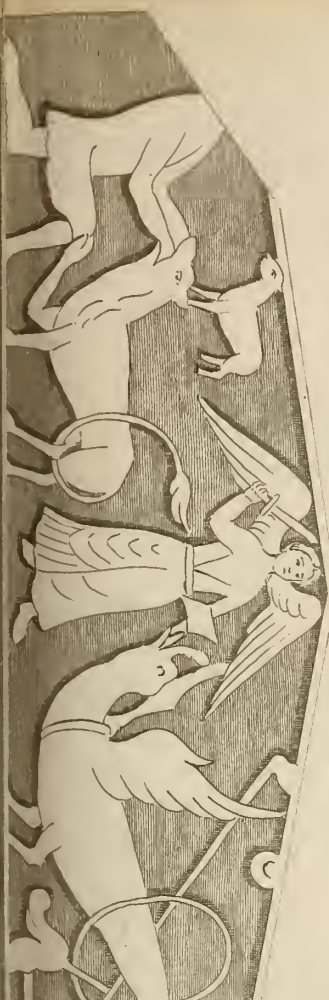
The Screen which encloses the Choir



The Chapter House.

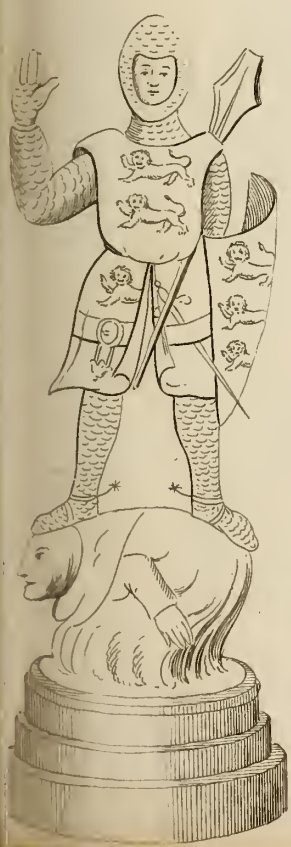


Entrance into the Chapter House.



Over the Doors leading to the Chapel.

In a niche on the South side of the Screen.



G. Clifton.



Uxor eius.



Johes. Byron Miles.

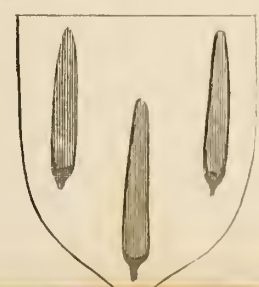
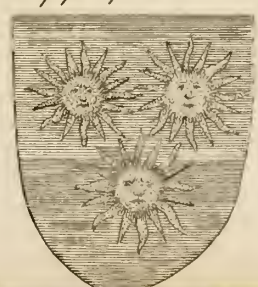
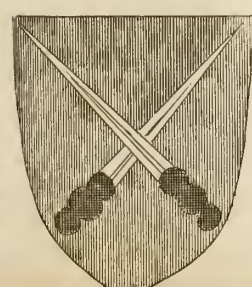


Margeria ux. ejus.



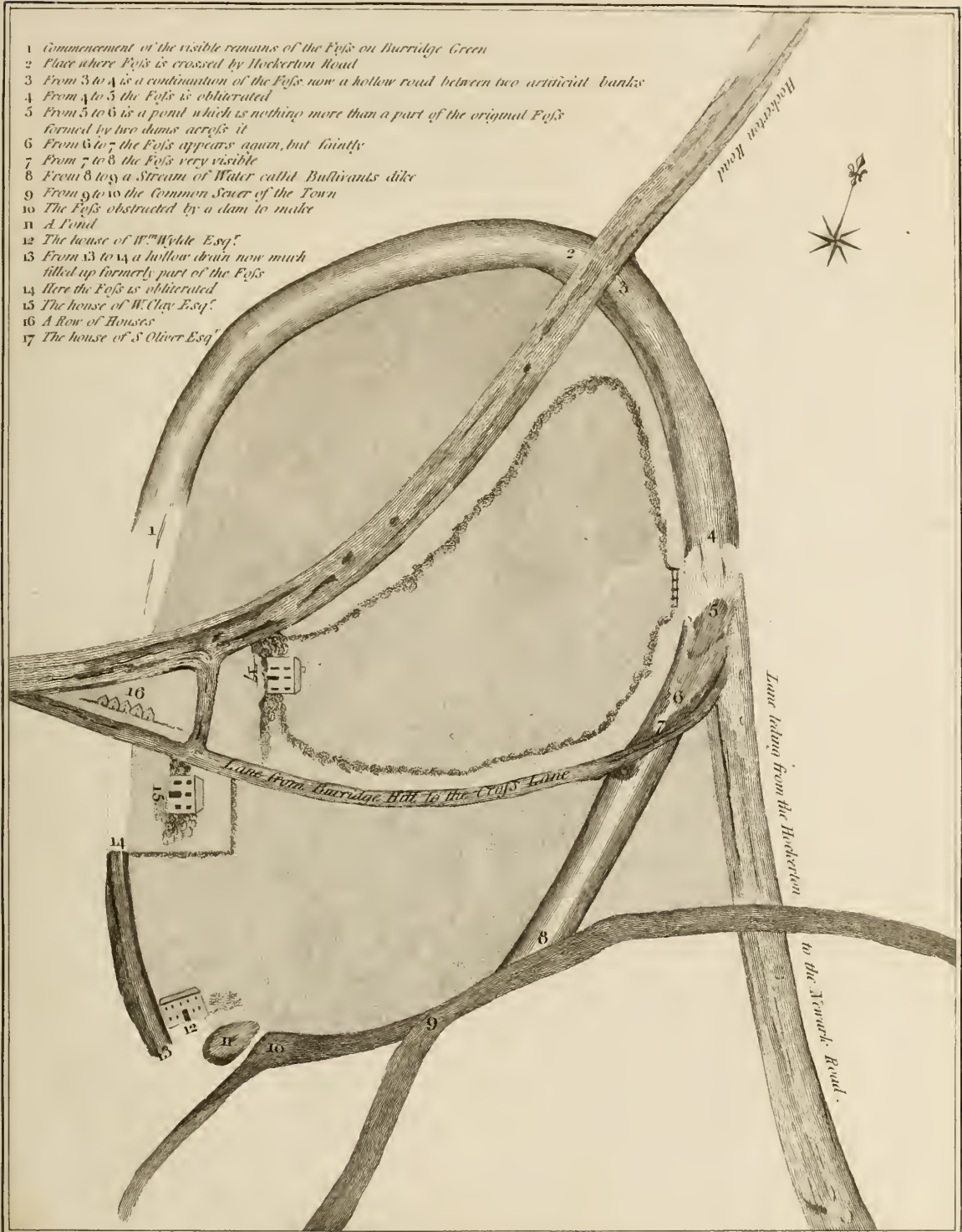
Arms unappropriated. Paul. U.S.S.

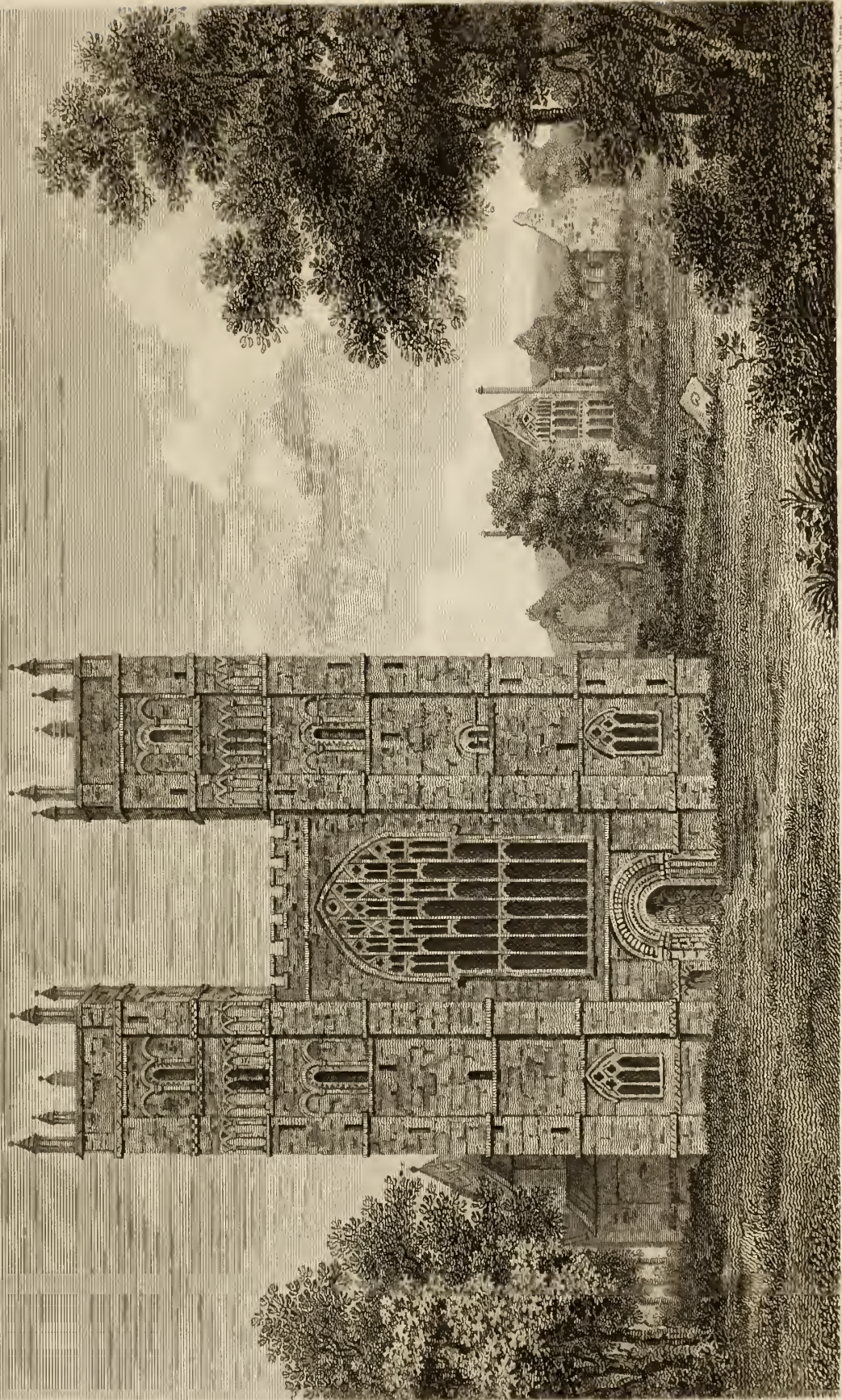
Coat in Ashmole unapp.



Remains
of a
ROMAN FOSS on BURRIDGE HILL, SOUTHWELL.

- 1 Commencement of the visible remains of the Foss on Burridge Green
- 2 Place where Foss is crossed by Hockerton Road
- 3 From 3 to 4 is a continuation of the Foss now a hollow road between two artificial banks
- 4 From 4 to 5 the Foss is obliterated
- 5 From 5 to 6 is a pond which is nothing more than a part of the original Foss formed by two dams across it
- 6 From 6 to 7 the Foss appears again, but faintly
- 7 From 7 to 8 the Foss very visible
- 8 From 8 to 9 a Stream of Water called Bullivants dike
- 9 From 9 to 10 the Common Sewer of the Town
- 10 The Foss obstructed by a dam to make
- 11 A Pond
- 12 The house of W. Wylie Esq.
- 13 From 13 to 14 a hollow drain now much filled up formerly part of the Foss
- 14 Here the Foss is obliterated
- 15 The house of W. Clay Esq.
- 16 A Row of Houses
- 17 The house of S. Oliver Esq.





WEST VIEW OF SOUTHWELL CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

according to the Plan of the projected Alteration.

Pub. Jan 1. 1800. by T. Cadell Junr & W. Davies Strand.



HOLME CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE

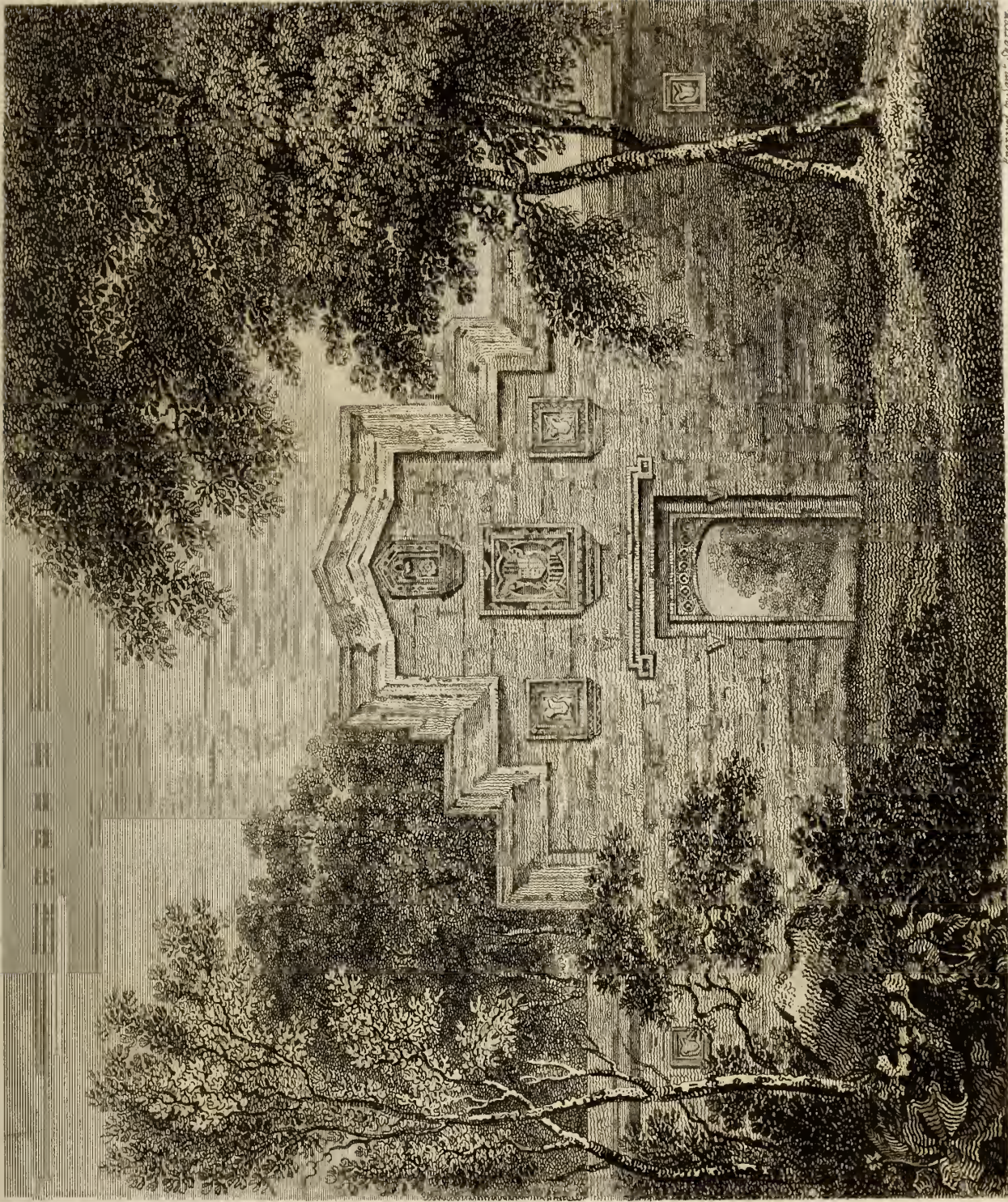
W. H. STUBBS DEL. & SCULPT.



Drawn from the Monument & Engraved by W. P. Sherwin

MONUMENT IN HOLME CHURCH, NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.

Engraved by W. P. Sherwin



Engraved by J. Smith, Op. 1800.

Drawn by W. L. Wharfedale.

ANTIEN T GATE AT RAMPTON.

Pub. 4. Int. 1. 1800 by J. Cadell. Imp. N. W. Davis. Prind.



West Gateway.

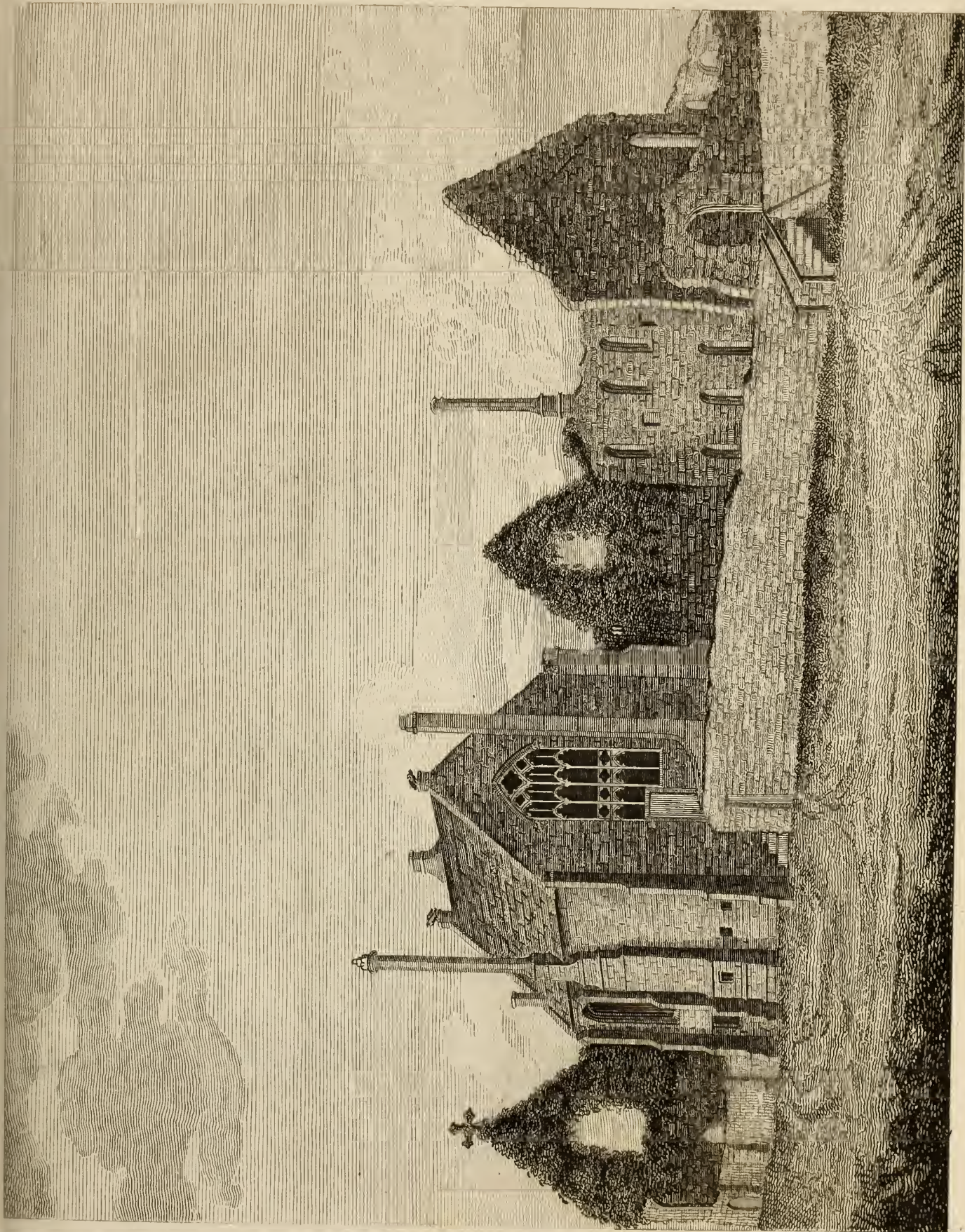


Engraved by J. H. Sturt.

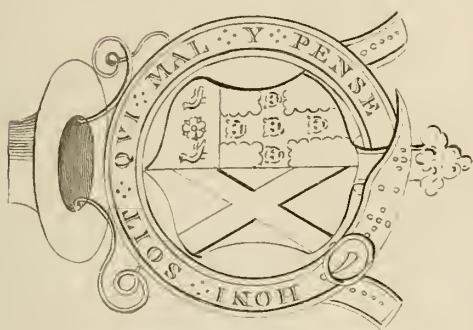
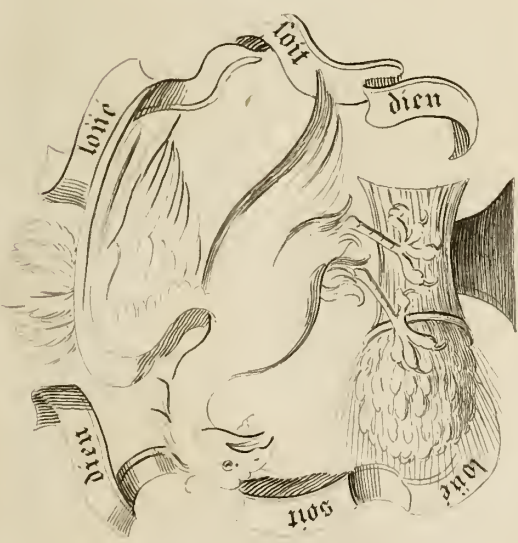
Designed by H. P. Sturt.

SOUTHWELL PALACE.

Pub. Jan. 1. 1800. by T. Cadell Jun. & W. Davies. (Printed)



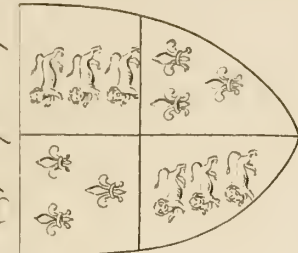
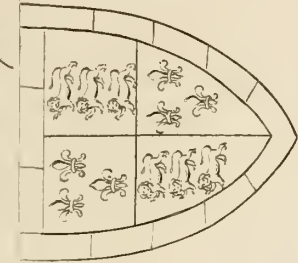
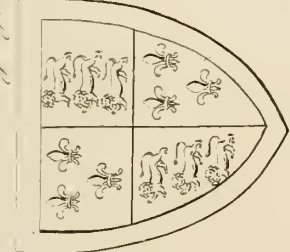
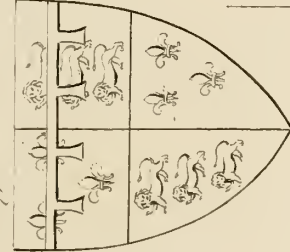
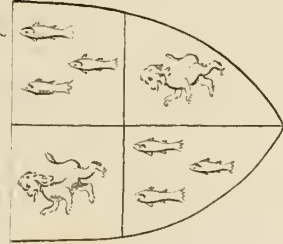
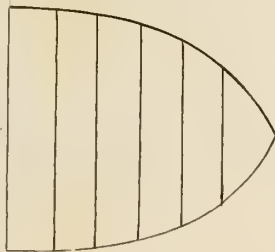
South West View of the Palace



Modern Arms of the See of York



Lord Grey, Louvaine & Lucy, England & France as borne by different branches of the Royal family



St. Peter

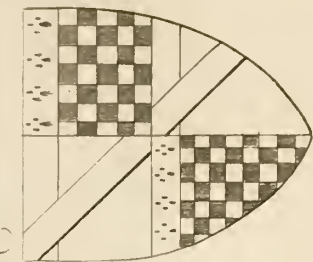
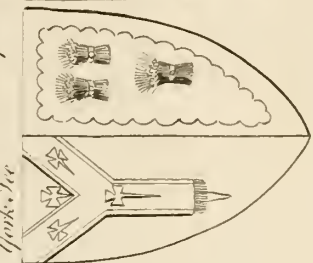
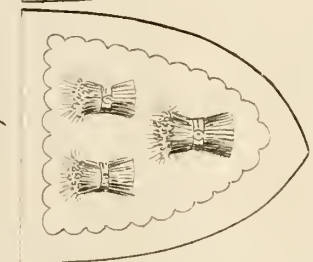
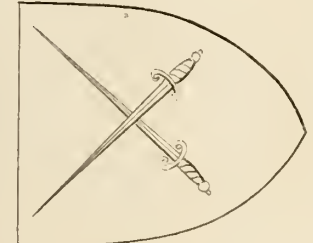
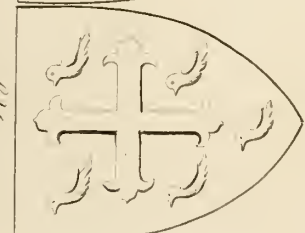
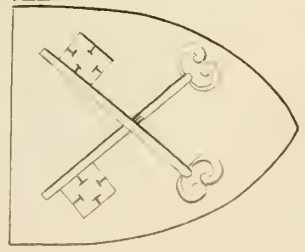
Edw. Confessor

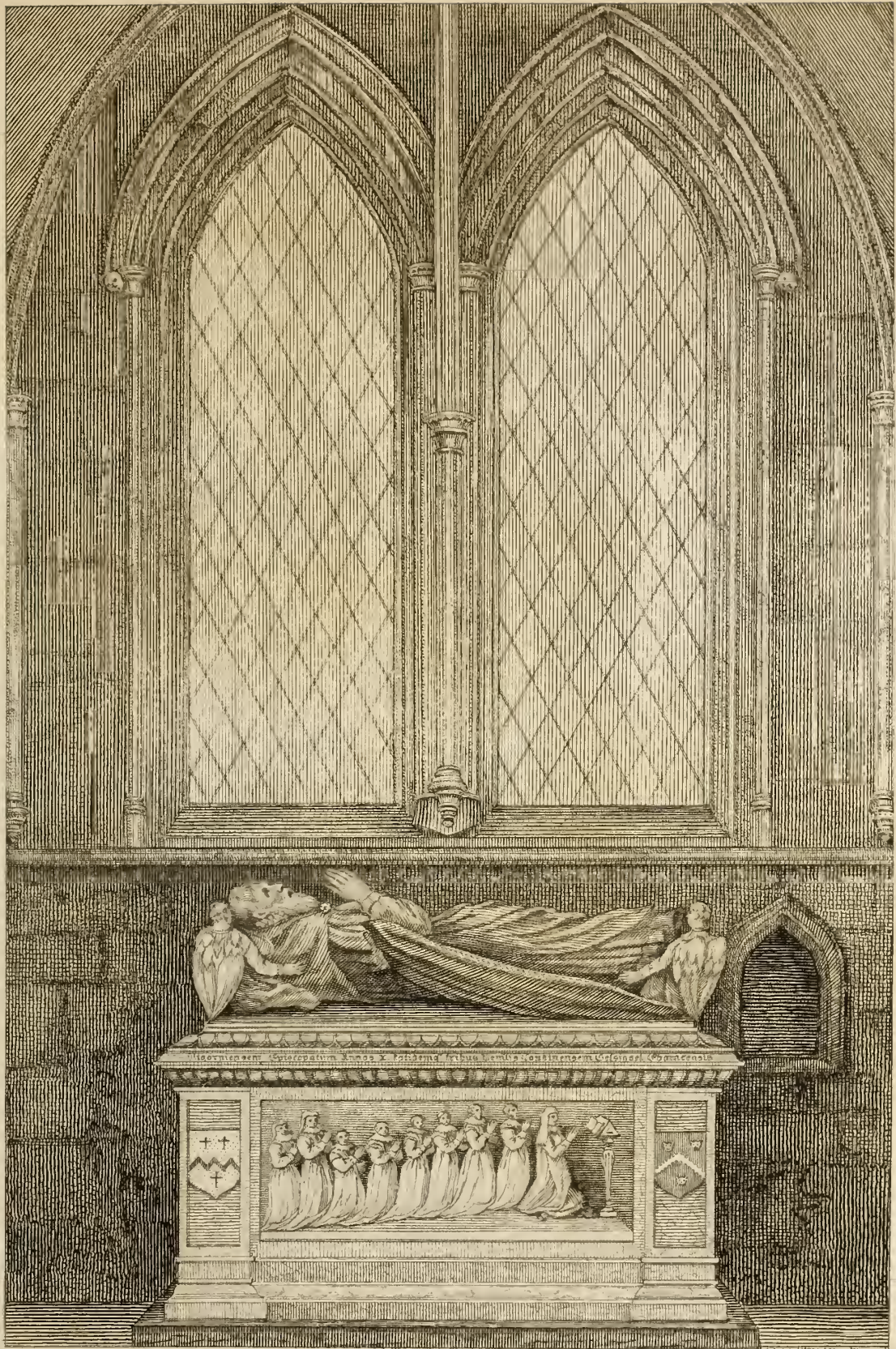
St. Paul

Genyve

Anceuts Genyve Yorks &c

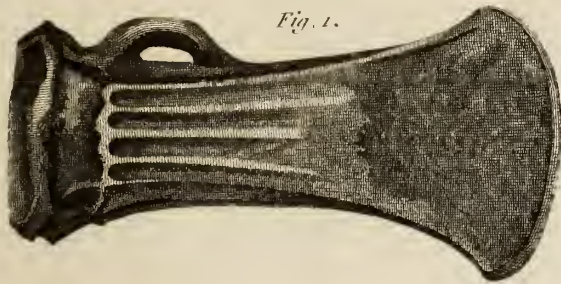
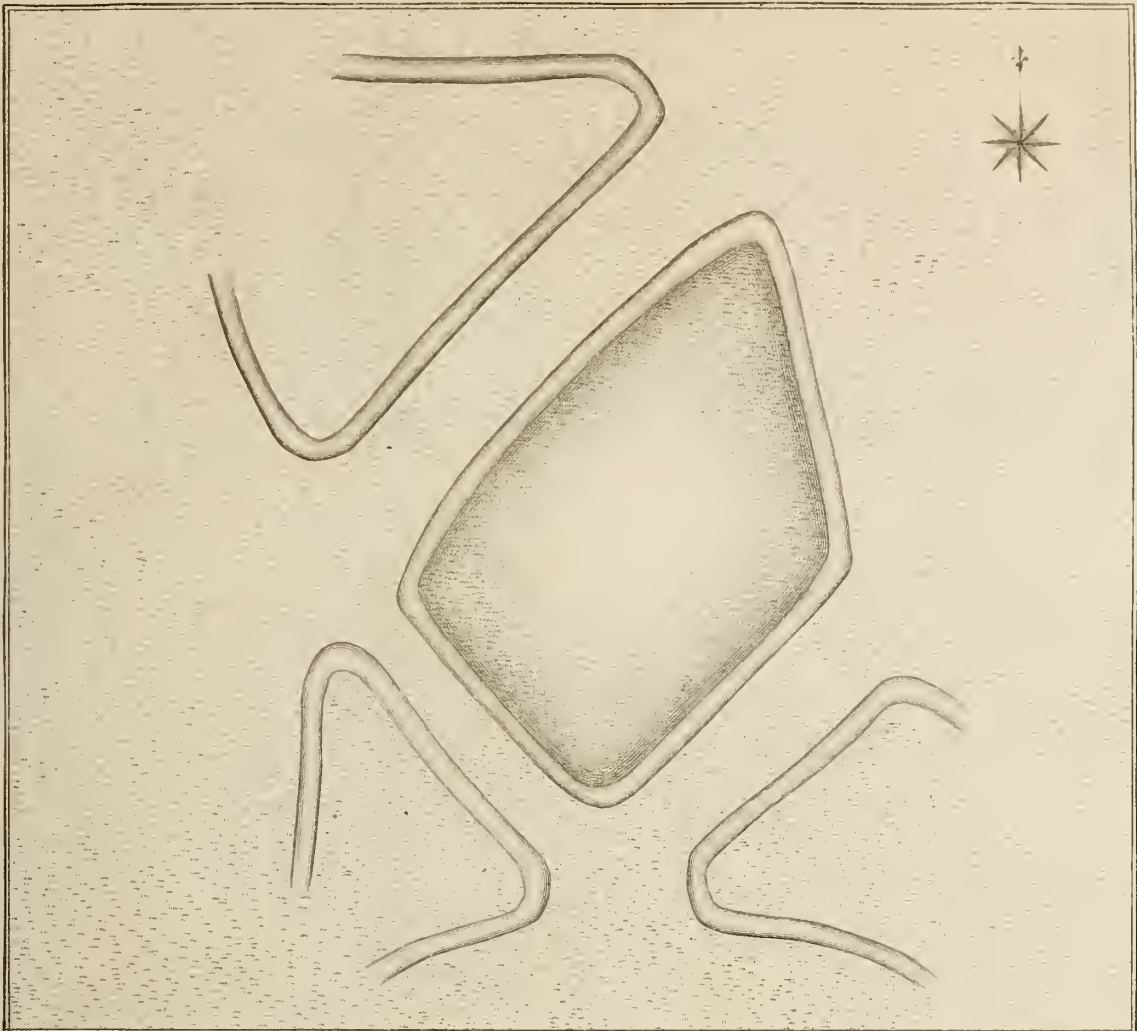
Genewell, Falthwell





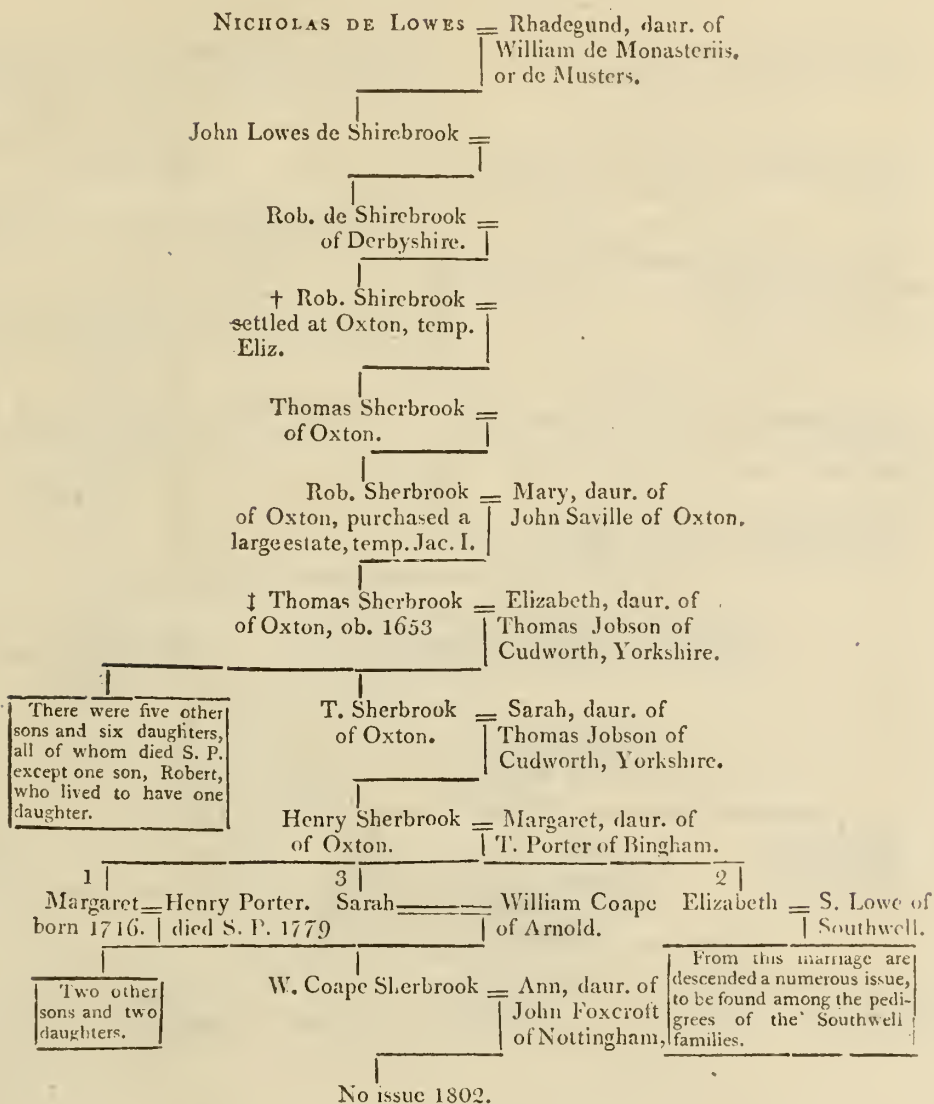
Drawn from the Monument by Engraver W. P. Sturt

MONUMENT OF ARCHBISHOP SANDYS IN SOUTHWELL CHURCH



Made in England.

PEDIGREE OF SHERBROOK*.

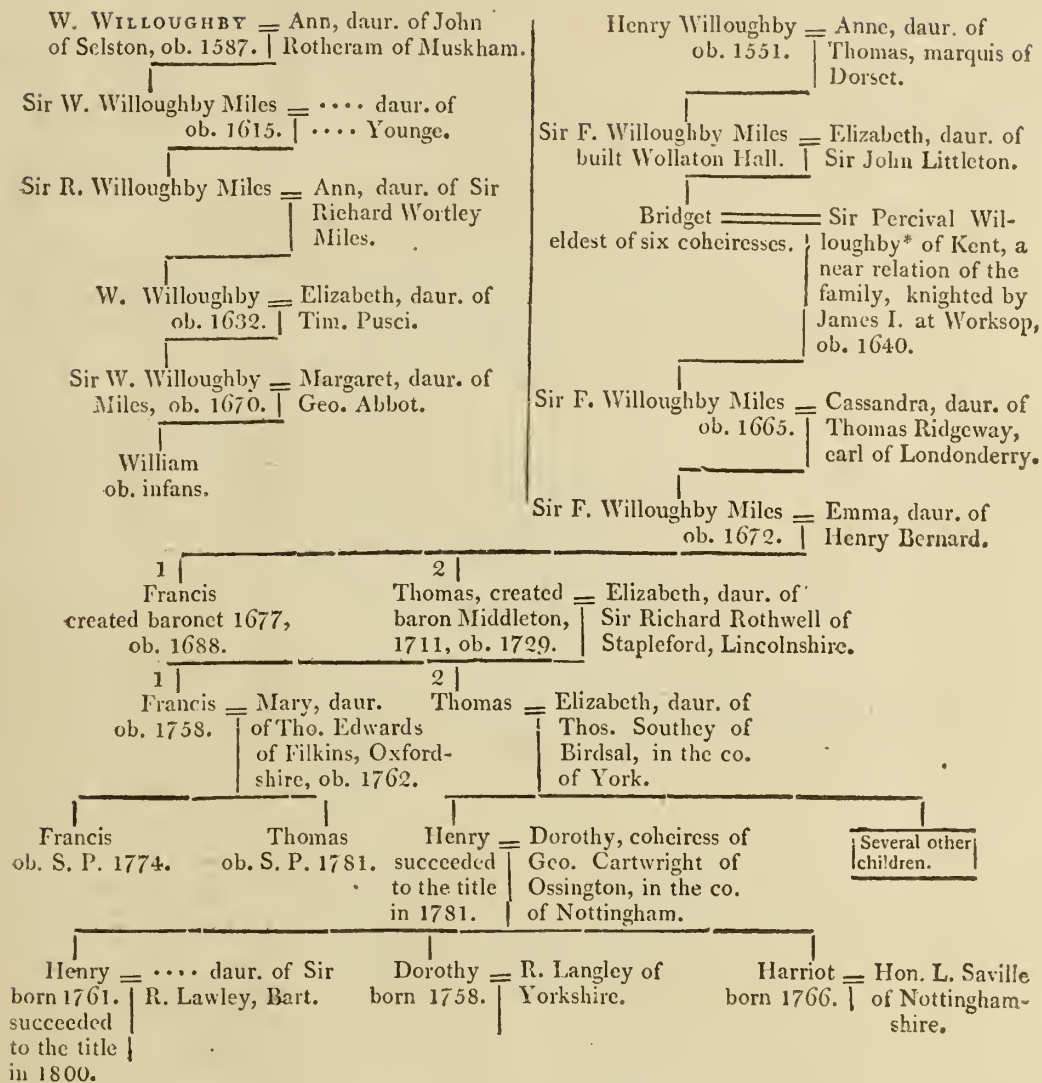


* THOROT. Antiq. Notts.

† REGIST. of Oxton.

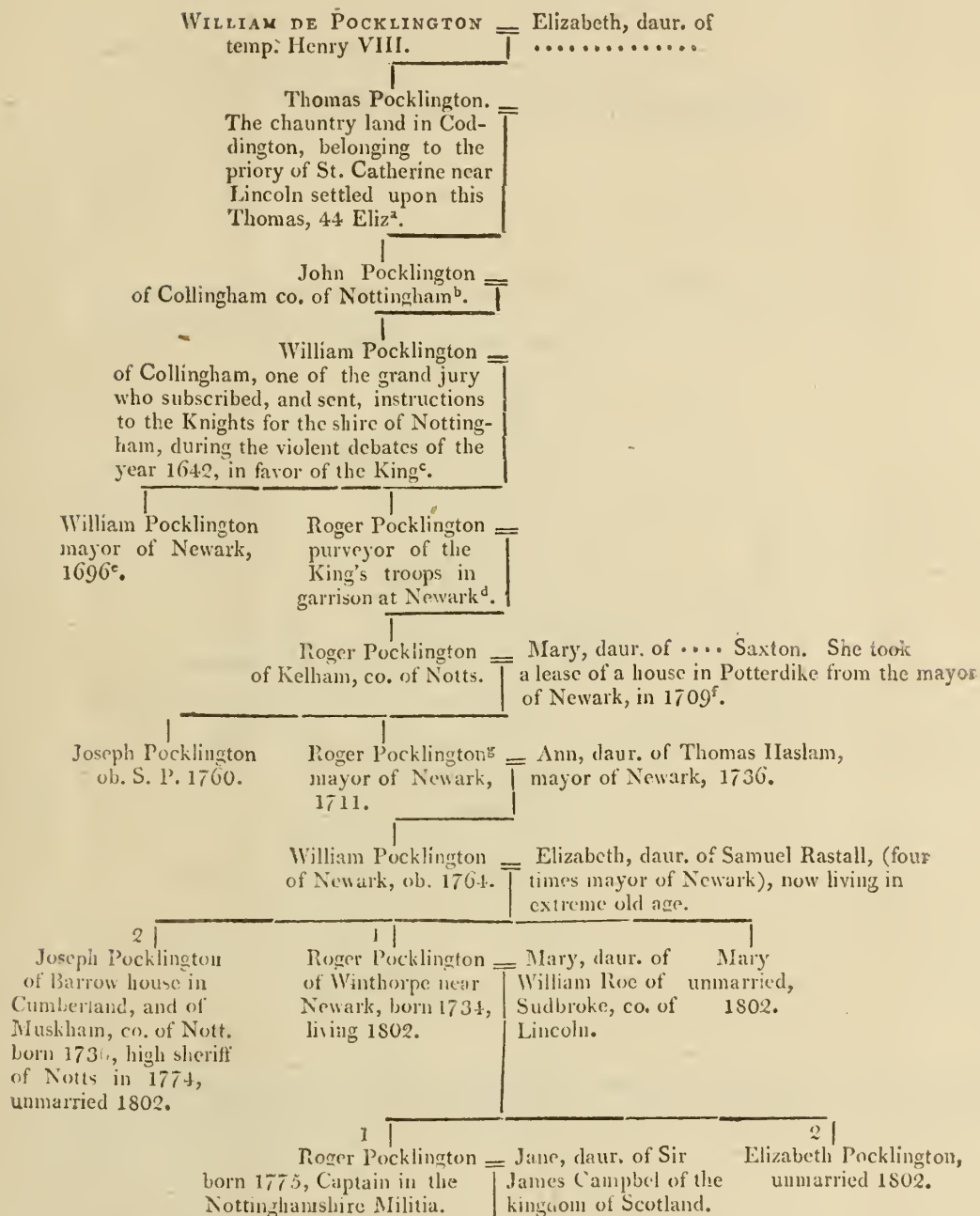
‡ ABOUT this period one of this family, of the name of William, was seized as a papist recusant in the county of Derby, and committed to prison with many other persons of consequence in those parts, by the Earl of Shrewsbury, lord president of the North. Vid. Lodge's illust. of Brit. Hist.

PEDIGREE OF WILLOUGHBY.



* Vid. Philpot's catalogue of Knights.

PEDIGREE OF POCKLINGTON.

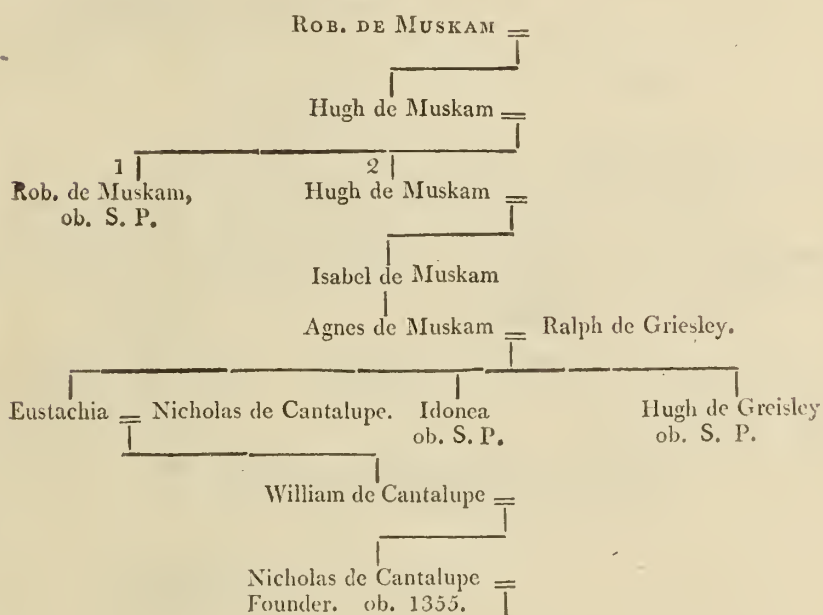


^a Vid. Thorot. antiq. Notts. ^b REGISTER of Collingham. ^c Vid. Archives of the mayor and corporation of Newark.

^d IBID. ^e IBID. ^f IBID. ^g IBID.

PEDIGREE OF CANTALUPE.

GILBERT DE GAUNT, temp. William I, gave his manor of Ilkeston to his Seneschal—



Or this family was Geoffrey de Muschamp, arch deacon of Cleveland, in the reign of Richard I. who we are told by Roger Hoveden was the most turbulent churchman of his time, and concerned in all the absurd quarrels which disgraced the church in this reign.

THE HISTORY OF THE

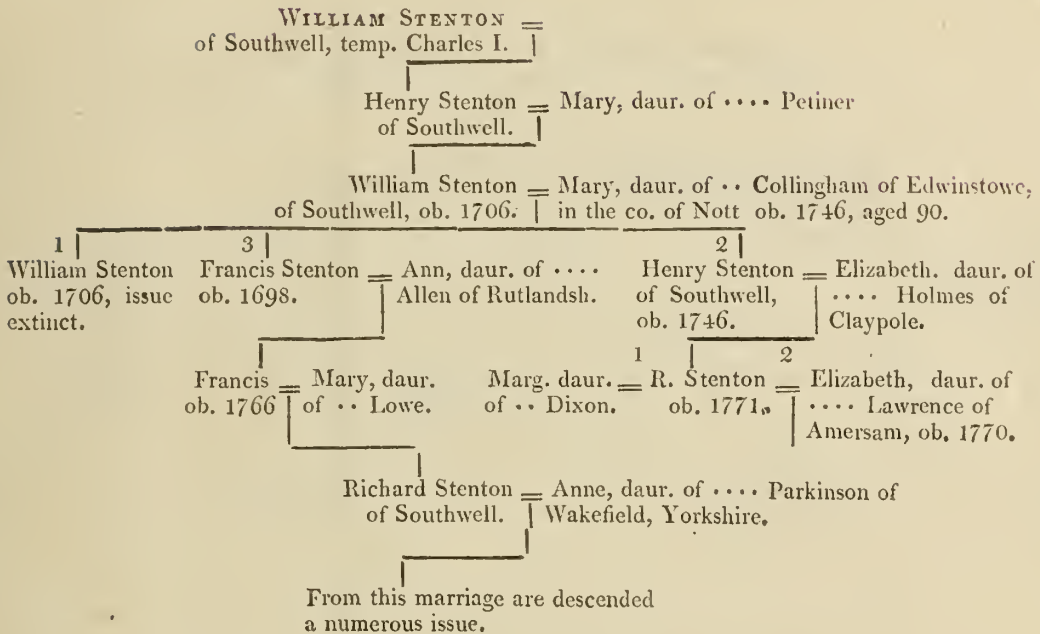
REPUBLIC OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

FROM 1776 TO 1863

BY
JAMES M. SMITH
OF THE
BUREAU OF THE CENSUS

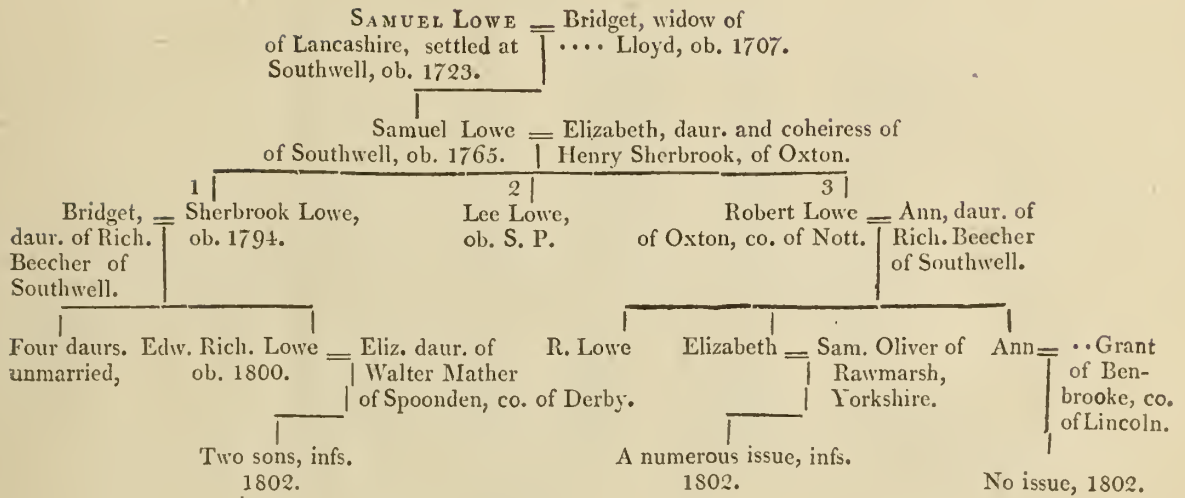
NEW YORK
PUBLISHED BY
THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH
AND
THE NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1903

PEDIGREE OF STENTON*.



* THE whole taken from the register of Southwell.

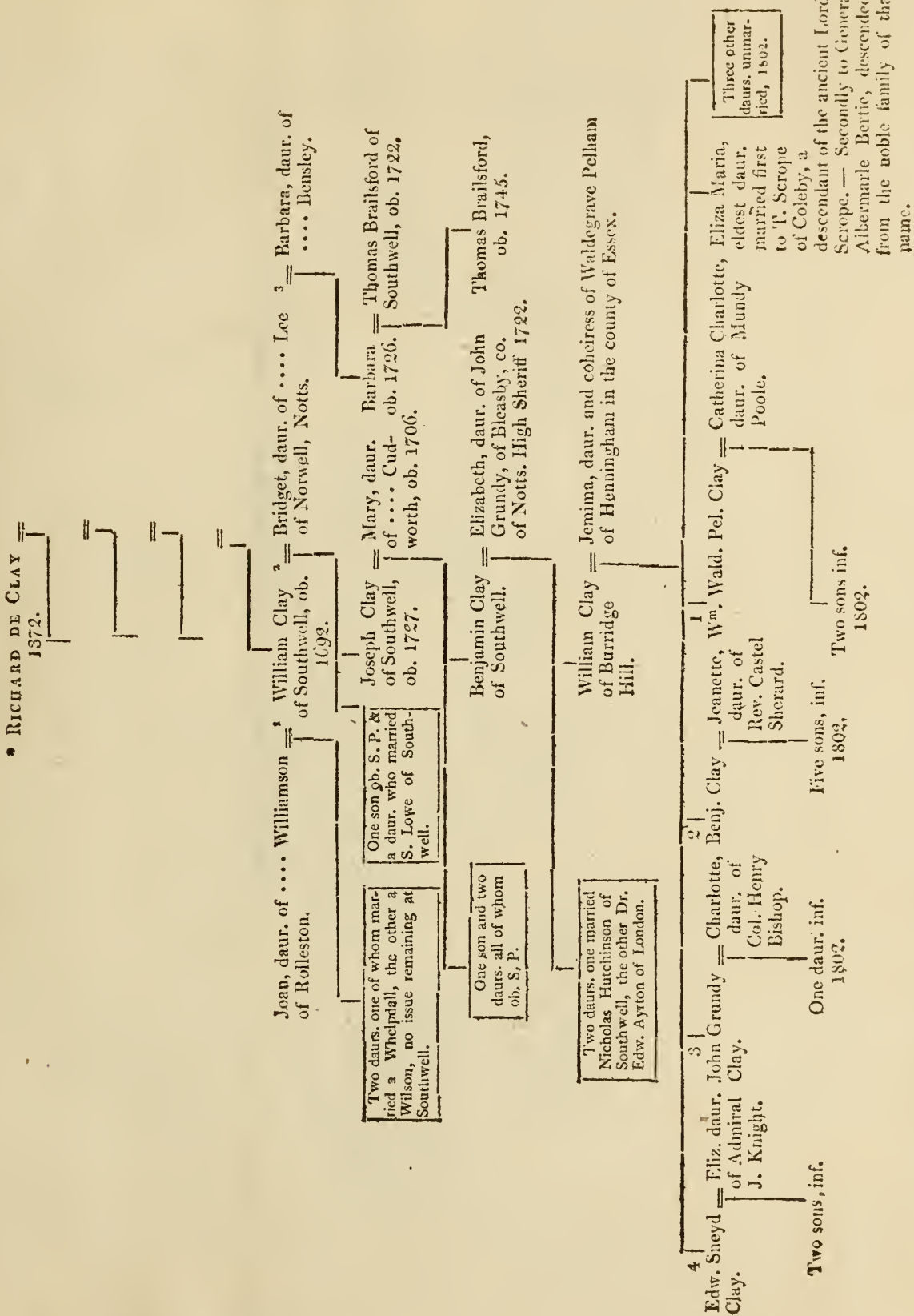
PEDIGREE OF LOWE*.



* THE whole taken from the register of Southwell.

PEDIGREE OF CLAY.

• RICHARD DE CLAY
1372.



* This Richard is mentioned as a benefactor to the church of Southwell in an inquisition taken in 1372, and noticed in a former page.

PEDIGREE OF BECHER.

Bridget, daur. of Samuel Lowe ¹ = EDWARD BECHER ² = Mary, daur. of Booth*,
of Southwell, ob. 1735. | of Ireland, Student of | widow of William Law of Southwell,
| the temple, ob. 1750.

Eliz. daur. of ² Richard Turner Becher ¹ = Ann Harding,
of Sam. Lowe of | ob. 1770. | ob. 1759.

William Becher, = Eliz. daur. of Rev.
Preb. of the Preb. | Joseph Drake, Burleigh
of Woodborough, | on the Hill,
in the church of |
Southwell.

Several sons and daurs. all
the former ob. S. P. one of
the latter married Leecroft of
Worksworth, Derbyshire;
the other married Swimmer
of Roxbro', Som. both
of these left several children.

One son and two daurs.
one of whom married
J. Pigot, M. D. of Derby.

Two other
sons ob. S.P.

Richard
ob. S. P. 1801.

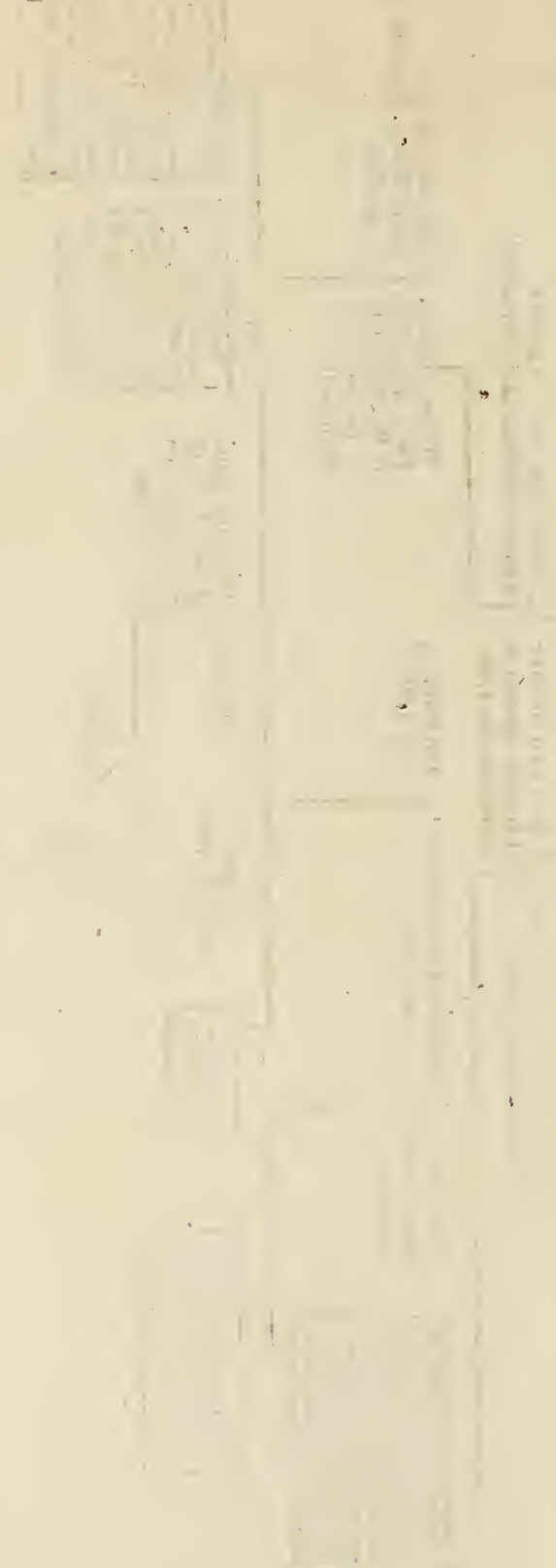
Michael =
Henrietta, daur.
of Sam. Lowe of
Southwell, widow
of Bugg.

No issue.

Four daurs, two of
whom married into
the family of Lowe;
the third married
Ad. Hough of Wor-
cestershire; and the
fourth, Bous-
field of Southwell.

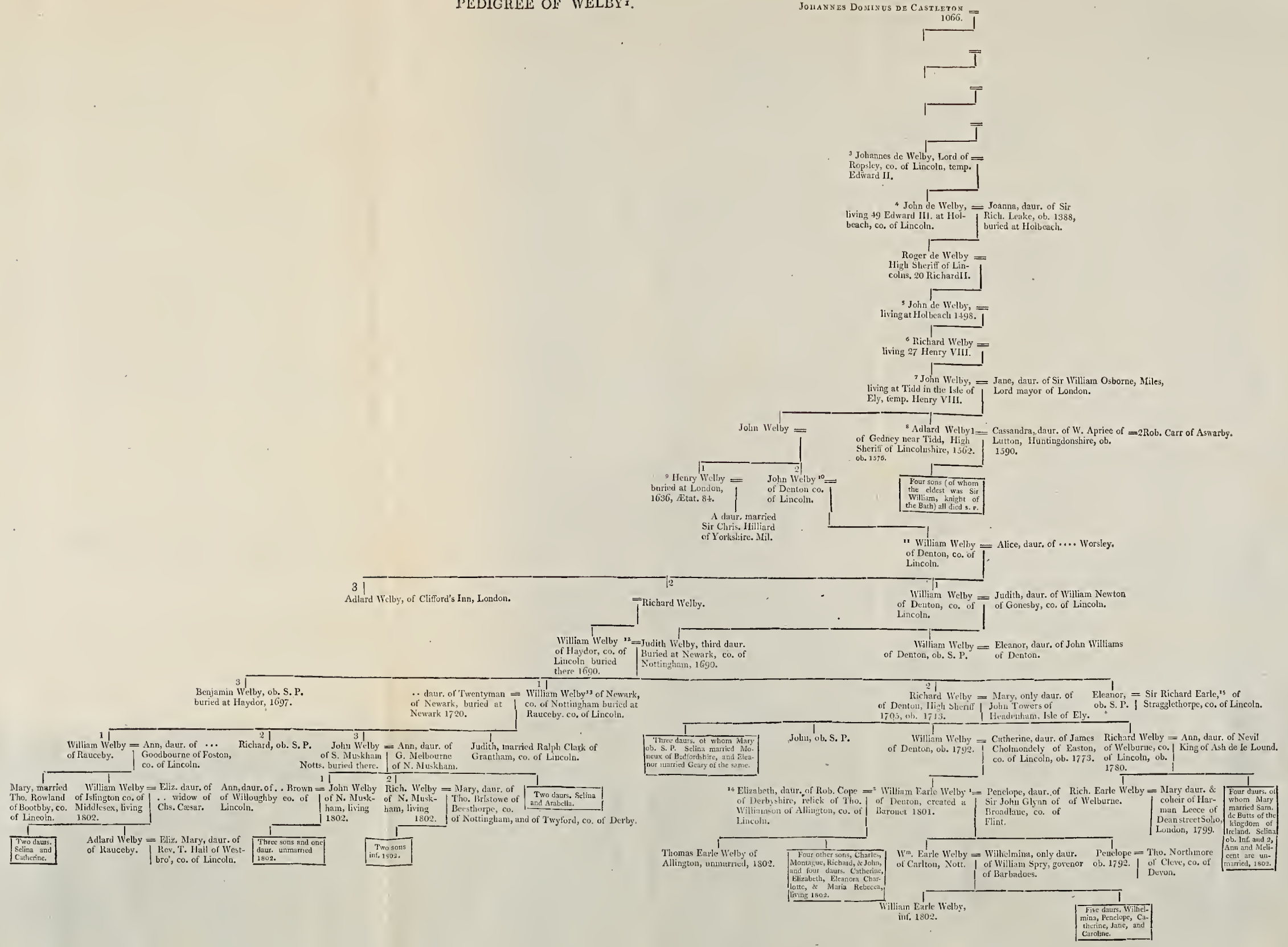
From this marriage
there are issue two
sons and three daurs,
of whom all are un-
married, 1802, ex-
cept Mary, the sec-
ond daur, married to the
Rev. I. T. Becher of
the kingdom of Ire-
land.

* MARY BOOTH, by her first husband, William Law, beside several children who died in their infancy, had four who lived to maturity, viz. Margaret, married to Jacob Tibsch of Southwell; Bridget to the Rev. John Pigot of Eperston; William Law, rector of Knesall; and Mary, married to the Rev. Charles Fowler, vicar of the church of Southwell.



PEDIGREE OF WELBY.

JOHANNES DOMINUS DE CASTLETON
1066.



¹ This Family derives its name from the village of Welby near Grantham in Lincolnshire. There was another family in Leicestershire, of the same appellation, but entirely distinct from this, and deriving their origin from a small hamlet near the town of Welton in Northamptonshire.

² From this John the family of Welby are said to derive their origin, but I have not been furnished with any authentic documents to support such an opinion. Their antiquity, and consequence, however, are sufficiently established, as far back as the reign of Edward II, from sources which admit of no dispute.

³ The effigies of this John still remains in painted glass, in one of the windows of the church of Ropsley.

⁴ This John received seizin of the manor of Allington in the county of Lincoln 49 Edward III. Thotot. antiq. Notts 150. It is rather remarkable that, after a lapse of so many centuries, this same manor of Allington should again have come into the possession of this family in the person of the present Sir Wm. Welby of Denton, Bart.

⁵ From a very ancient collection of MSS. anecdotes of extraordinary persons in the possession of Mr. Richard Welby of N. Muskham.

⁶ KING HENRY VIII granted lands lately belonging to the monastery of Willoughton to this Richard 27 year of his reign. Thotot. antiq. Notts. 103.

⁷ Vid. Jacob's Peetrage, Pedigree of Osborne, duke of Leeds.

⁸ Vid. Camden's Britannia. Tit. Gedeley. The decease of this Adlard's four sons without issue is recorded on a monument in Gedeley church.

⁹ This Henry was an extraordinary character. Soon after his decease in 1636, three lives of him were published, recording his penances, devotions, and extraordinary charities. They all agree in their relation of the principal events of his life, as well as of his more than monastic seclusion in the latter part of it: they differ however materially in their narrative of the causes that led to it. All that can be collected with certainty, is, that in early life

he and a younger brother, John Welby, had sought each other's blood; the recollection of which lay so heavy on Henry's conscience, that he dedicated nearly half a very long life to the purpose of working out his salvation by repentance and mortification. His father's name appears to have been John; of his mother we are left in entire ignorance. Richard, in his history of England, intimates that he died of the great plague in 1636.

¹⁰ Henry's younger brother, John, appears to have settled at Denton in Lincolnshire about 1600, as his name, and that of a son, William, appear among those of the Gentlemen in the immediate vicinity of Grantham, who came to Newark to meet King James I on his accession to the crown; preserved in a collection of miscellaneous genealogical remarks by Dr. Stukely, in possession of the author, W. D.

¹¹ From this place all that part of the Welby Pedigree which relates to the families of Denton and of Welburne is recorded in the herald's college.

¹² By this marriage the two branches of this family became again united. Vid. Register of Newark.

¹³ This William was heir at Law to William, the immediate predecessor in the possession of Denton; but marrying much against the consent of his family, he was disinherited, and his younger brother Richard succeeded and became the progenitor of the Welby families of Denton and Welburne. Ibid.

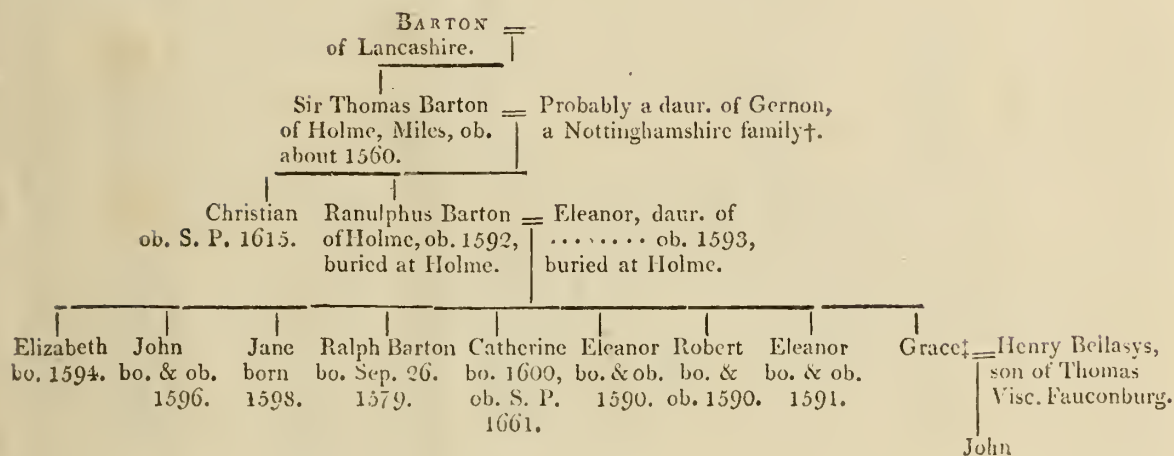
¹⁴ This William had two wives, but no issue by either. He bequeathed all his property to this Eliz. his second wife, by whose marriage with Sir William Welby, it has passed into the latter family.

¹⁵ This Sir Richard Earle dying without issue bequeathed large estates in Lincolnshire to his wife's relations of the name of Welby, on condition that the eldest son should always take the name of Earle prefixed to that of Welby. As it might happen that every son in succession, by the decease of the elder, might become the object of this bequest, it has been the custom of the family to give all their male issue, the name of Earle.

Four daurs. of whom Mary married Sam. de Butts of the kingdom of Ireland. Selina ob. Inf. and 3, Ann and Melcent are unmarried, 1802.

Five daurs. Wilhelmina, Penelope, Catherine, Jane, and Caroline.

PEDIGREE OF BARTON*.

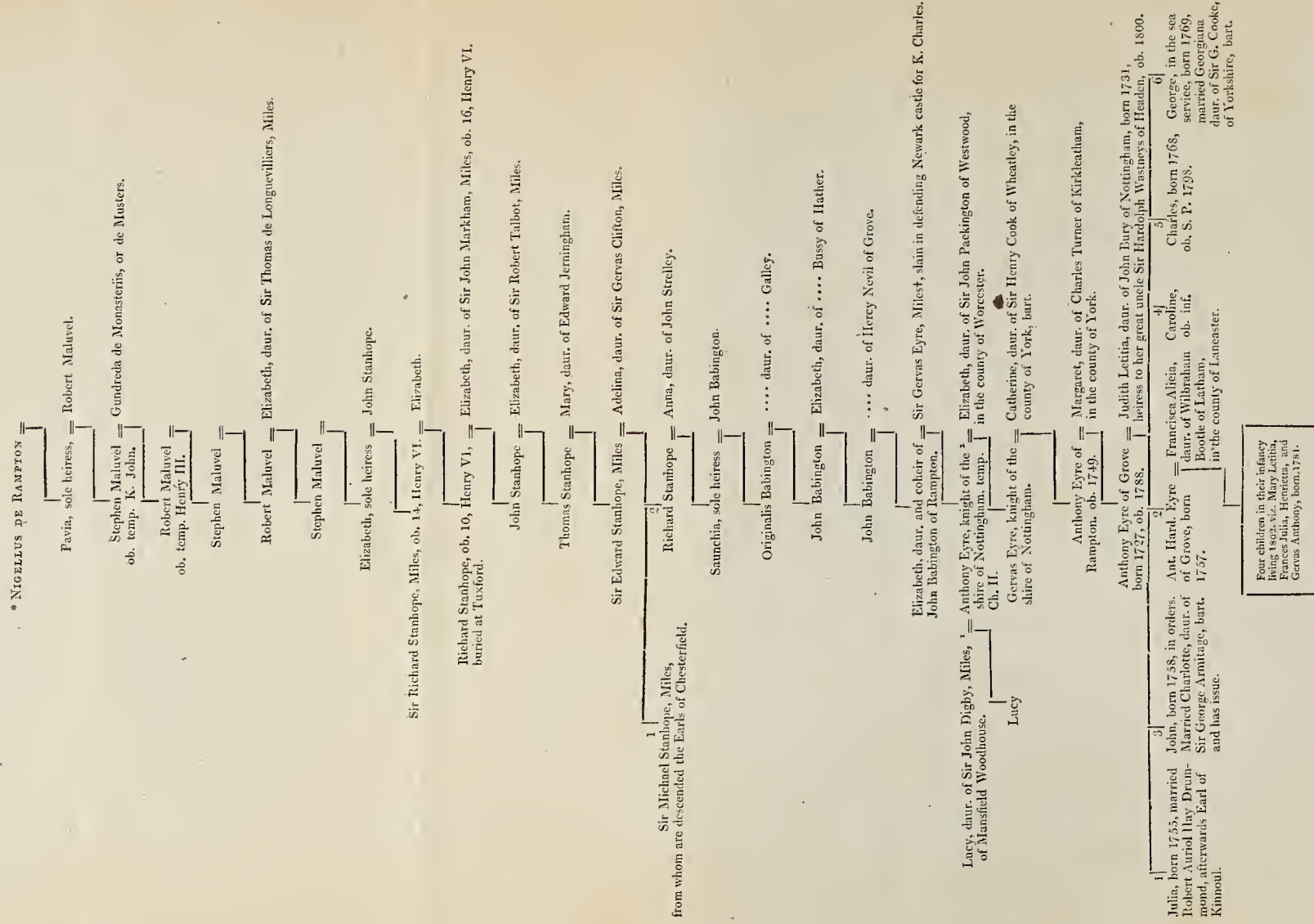


* VID. Thorot. antiq. Notts.

† THIS conjecture is founded on the circumstance of the Bartons (who were a Lancashire family) from this time using the arms of Gernon, a Nottinghamshire family, to which is always found annexed the device of a bear and a tun.

‡ VID. Collins's Peerage.

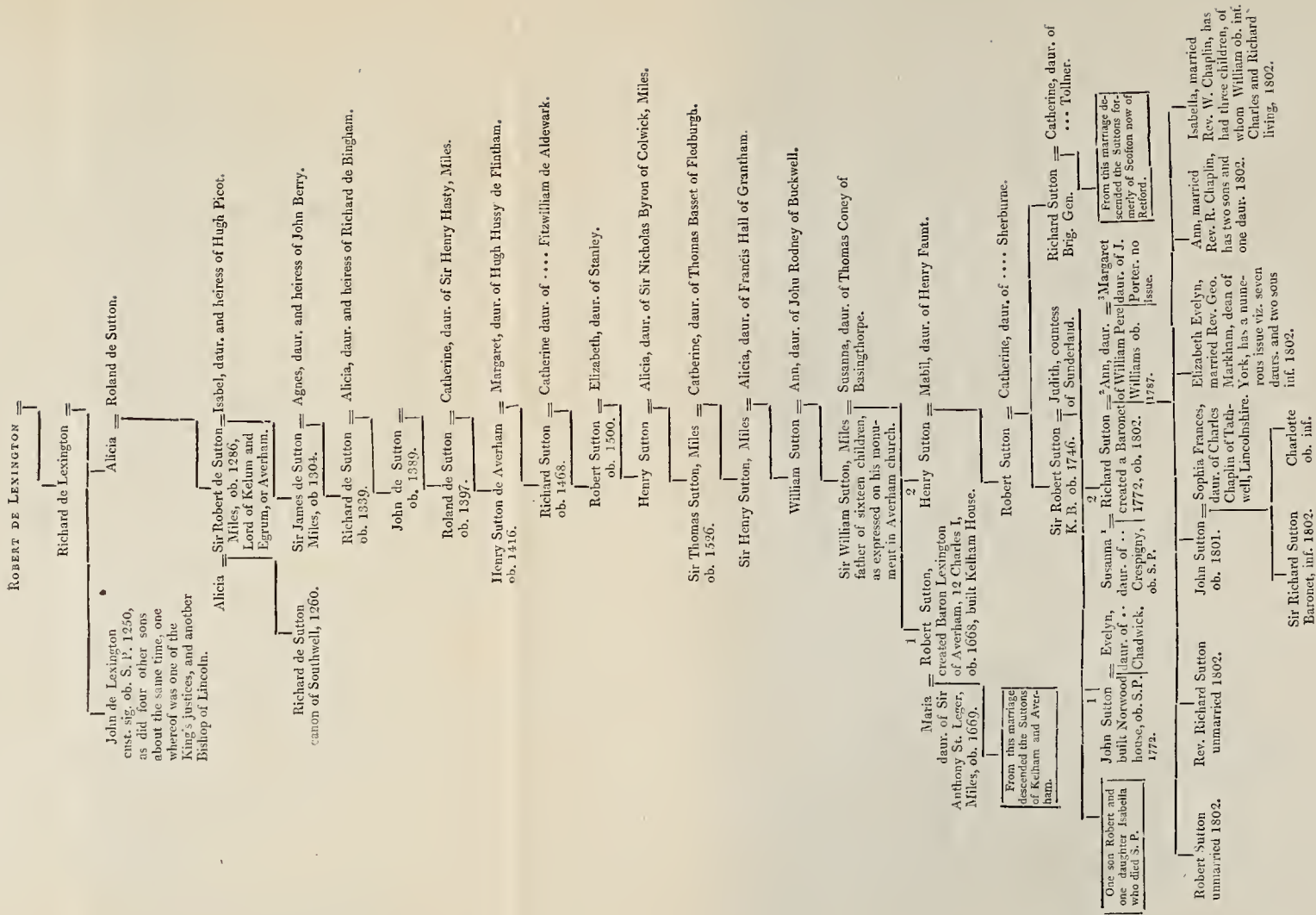
PEDIGREE OF EYRE.



* For this Pedigree till the reign of Charles I. vid. Thoroc. antiq. Notts.

† The remainder of this Pedigree from the time of Charles I. is taken from an Autograph of the present Anthony Hardolph Eyre of Grove, Esq.

PEDIGREE OF SUTTON*.

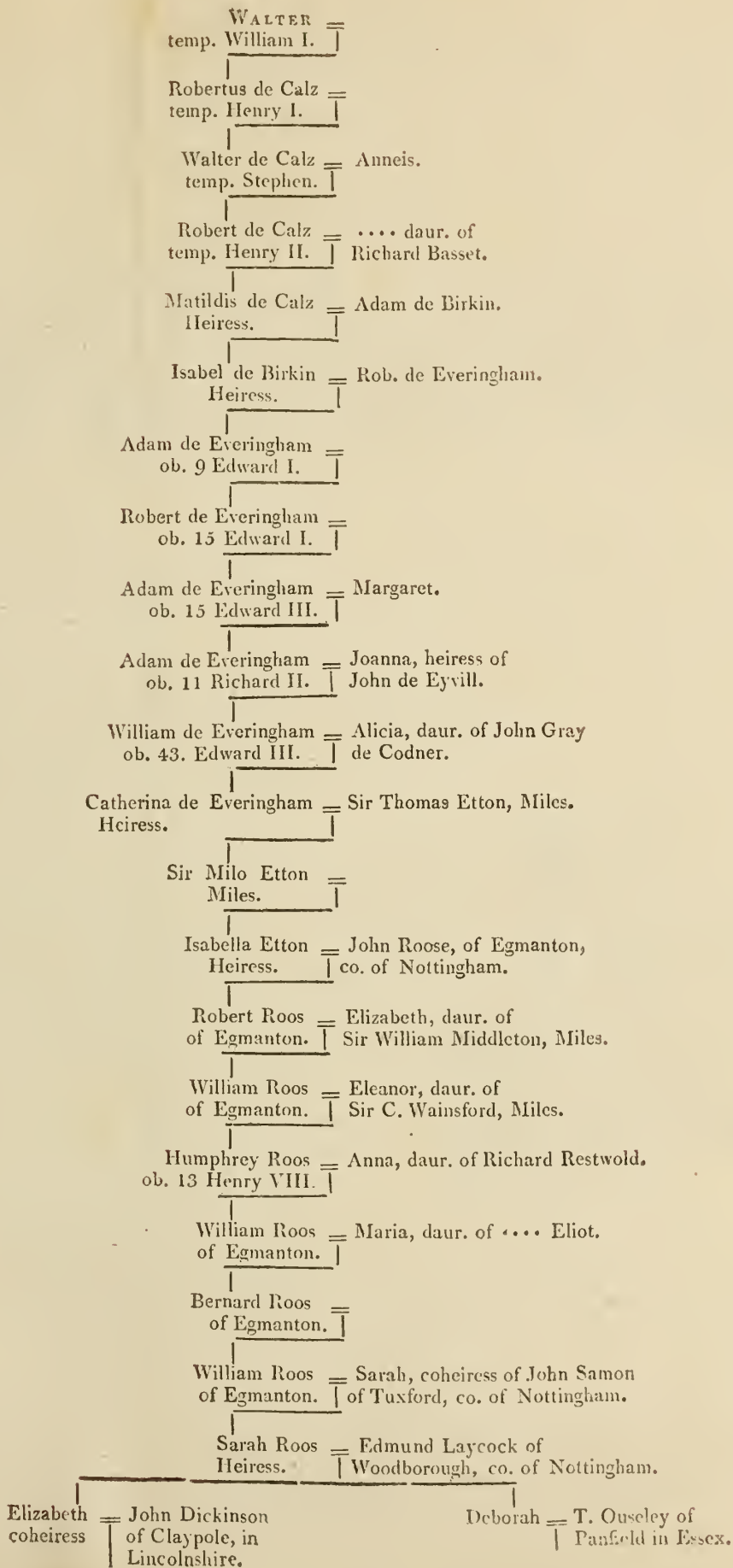


* From an autograph supplied by Sir Richard Sutton, Baronet.

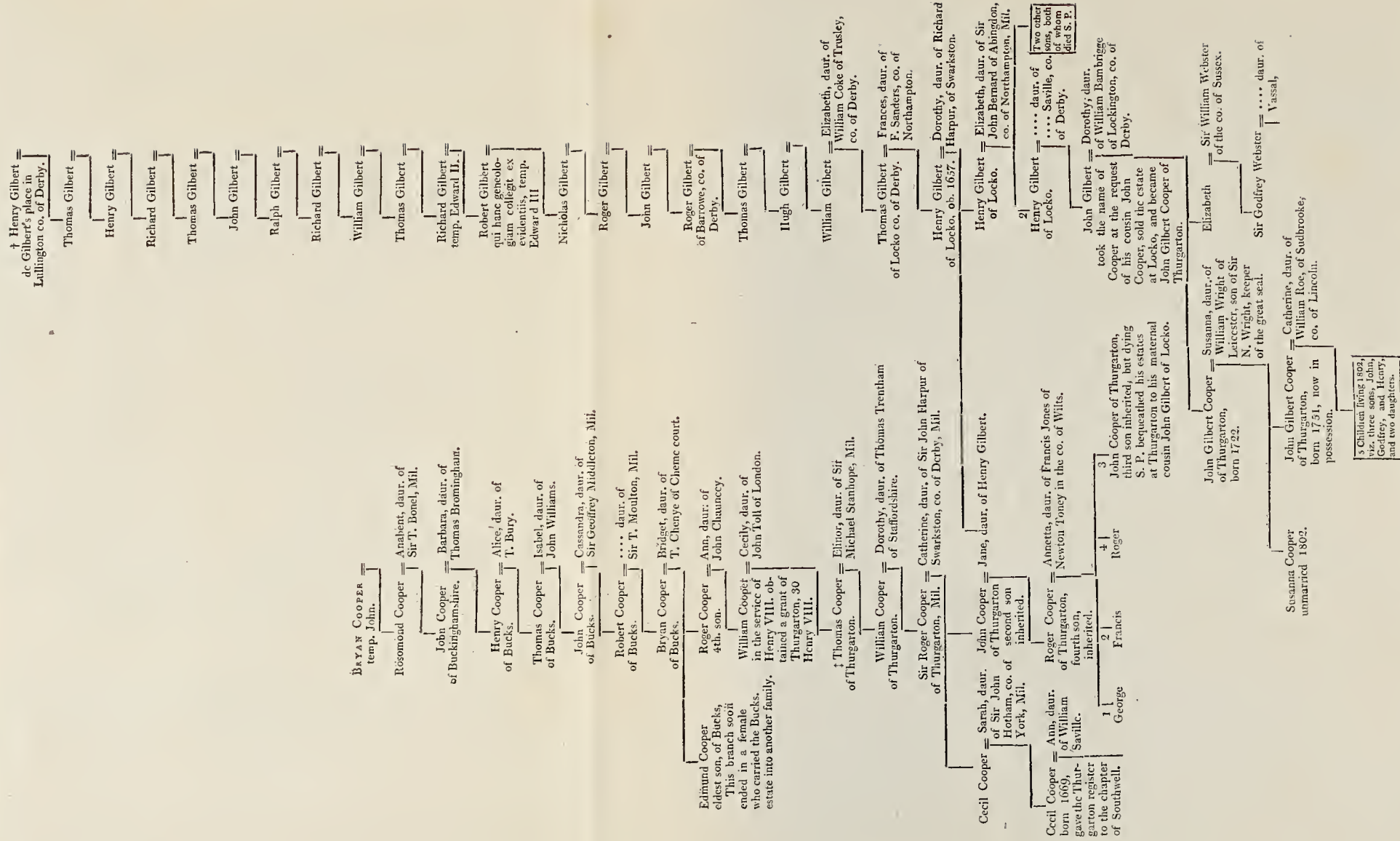
THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PEDIGREE OF CALZ.

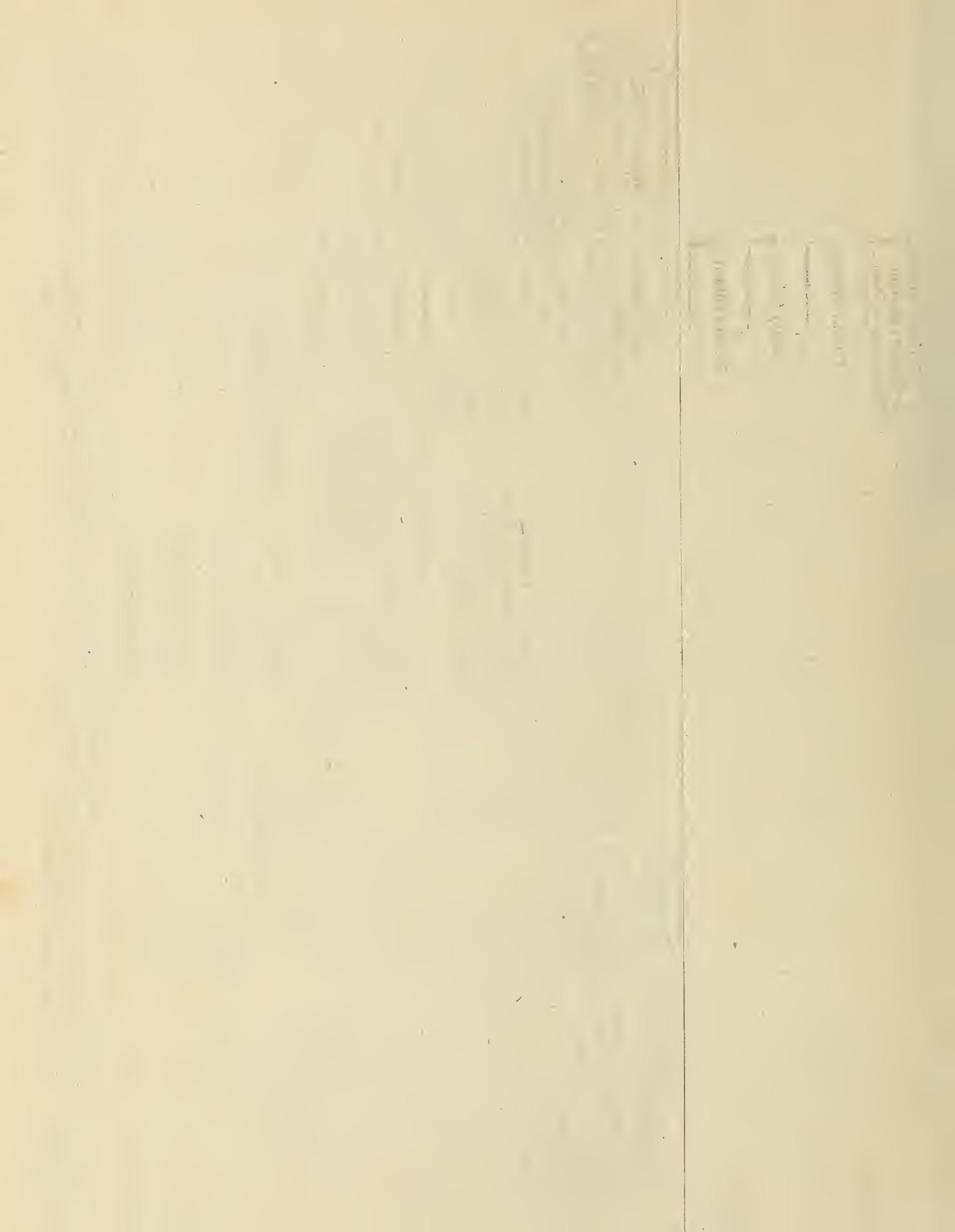


PEDIGREE OF COOPER*.

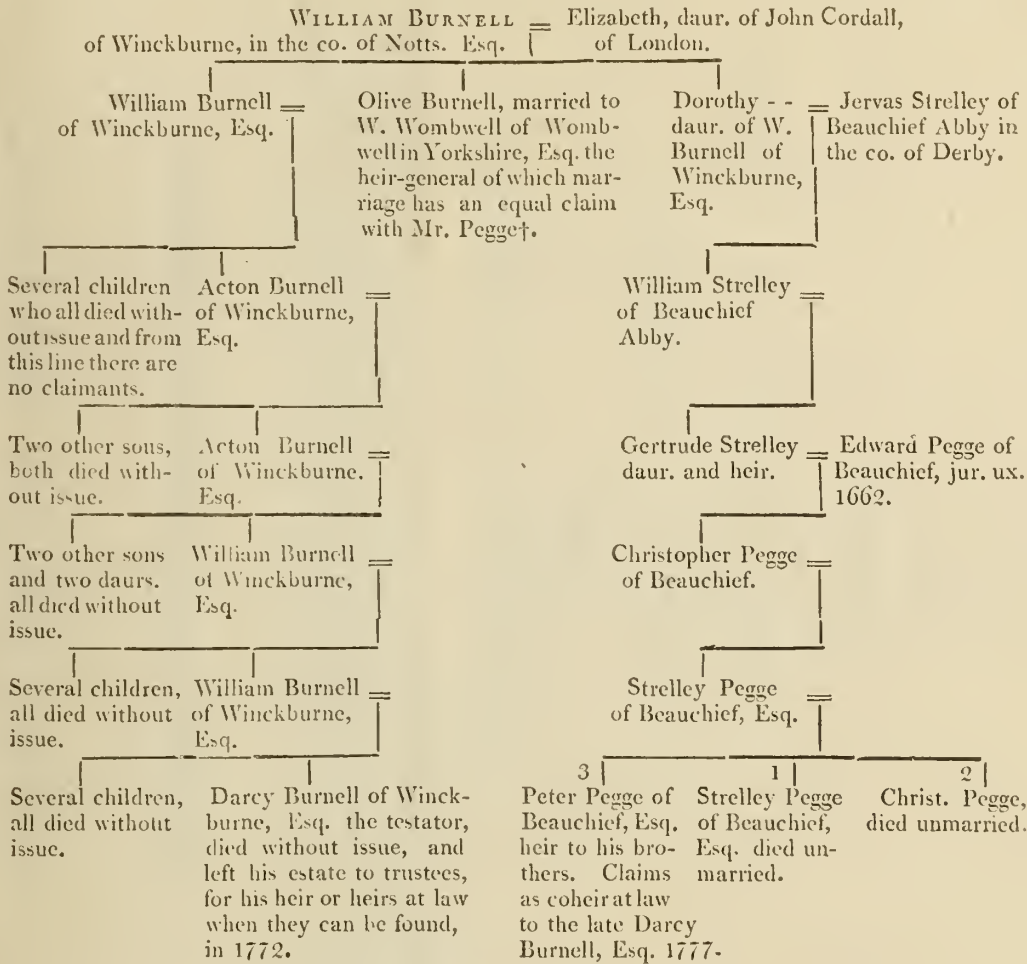


* From an ancient pedigree in the possession of J. G. Cooper, Esq.

† GUY'S ELIZABETH in the fourth year of her reign granted to this Thomas and his heirs, all the tithes and demesne and manor of Fiskerton and Moron, and the capital messuage called Ashwell Hall, with a close called the park and other lands; the passage of Fiskerton, two water mills, and other estates in Goman, Bledby, and elsewhere. These were sold by Sir Roger Cooper, grandson of the said Thomas, between 1635 & 1650. Vid. Thourc. antiq. Not.



PEDIGREE OF BURNELL*.

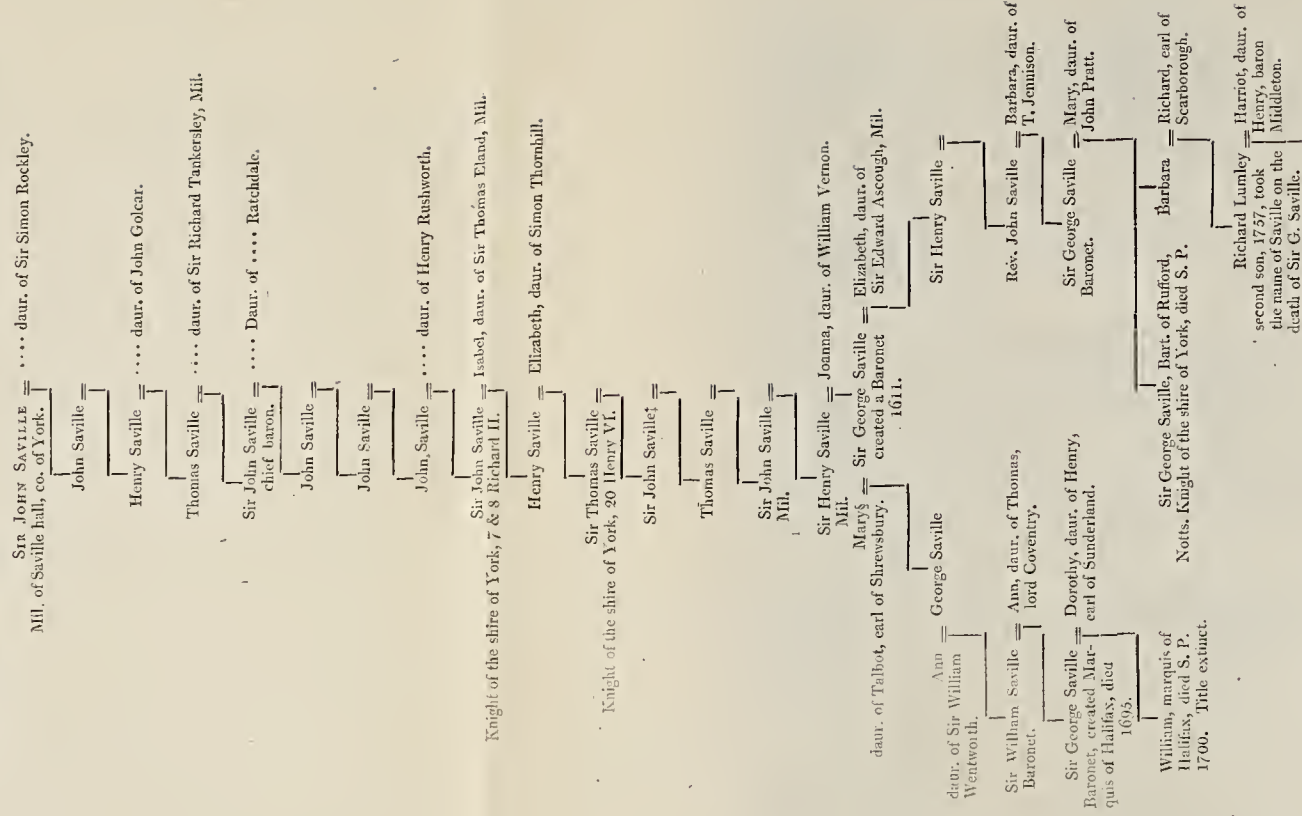


* THIS Pedigree is a copy of that which was exhibited to the court and jury at Nottingham, when the present possessor of Winckburne, Peter Pegge Burnell, Esq. laid claim to the estates of the family.

† THIS claim was afterwards enforced by Richard Bristowe, Esq. of London, and he recovered a moiety of the estates.

PEDIGREE OF SAVILLE, OF RUFFORD*.

It seems generally agreed that this family is of Italian extraction, some deriving their origin immediately from the town of Savigliano in the dukedom of Savoy; others from the family of the Sobelli, many of whom were consuls of Rome before the time of our saviour. Certain however it is that Duke de Savilli is at this time an Italian title, and that a claim of consanguinity has been maintained by the families of England, and of Italy, at no very distant period†. The first on record of any great note in this kingdom is

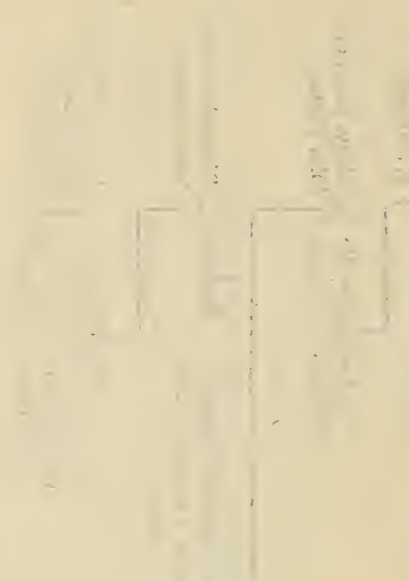


* Vid. Wolton's baronetage, Thores. antiq. Notts, and Collyer's general dict.

† Vid. Preface to Sir John Saville's reports.

‡ By this marriage the Rufford estate which had been granted to George, earl of Shrewsbury, by Henry VIII, in the sixth year of his reign, came into the family of Saville. Thores. antiq. Notts.

§ Vid. Preface to Sir John Saville's reports.



To those, who have not been in the habit of seeking amusement from Antiquarian pursuits, the subjects of the foregoing pages can be expected to afford but little information, and but slender entertainment. Among those, for whom this "stultus labor ineptiarum" has had its charms, differences of opinion must necessarily arise. Whether the reciprocal illustrations, which the Author has supposed his etymological deductions, and the actual discoveries of Roman roads mutually to reflect, may make the same impression on others, that he has received from them himself, he has yet to learn. If they should not, he has only to betake himself to the usual prophetic consolation, viz, a conviction that lapse of time and the progress of discovery will confirm his doctrine; not offered without long observation and elaborate investigation, but it is presumed, at the same time, not obtruded with more pertinacity than may be found consistent with a decent indulgence to established errors, or a proper deference to the opinions of some earlier Authors.

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